

681 The payment of atonement came not only
 576 after a violation of the law but also after a violation of
 689 manners and customs such as sitting down without
 regard to custom,⁶⁷ looking into a house through "God's
 window,"⁶⁸ speaking the name of the dead,⁶⁹ talking
 about the secrets of other people, looking at unclean
 things,⁷⁰ or disturbing a sacred place.⁷¹ *Ashinpe* was
 therefore not a mere fine but a gift used to beg pardon
 of God for in the very presenting of the gift was
 implicit an apology to God. When disputes were settled
 among persons there was no question about the distribu-
 622 tion of *Ashinpe*. But if the chief had acted as judge
 692 he collected the *Ashinpe* and distributed it to the injured
 party. This is described in Sakai Tadaiku's *Hokkaidō*
Junkōki [Record of a Tour of Hokkaidō] as follows:
 "When a person did wrong, he was reprimanded and
 made to atone after which he was set free. The dis-
 position of this atonement was the duty of the *Otona*."
 in the *HDHS* it is said that "the chief after passing
 judgment would collect from the guilty party wealth in
 accordance to the offense and give it to the injured
 party." The *Tsugaru Kibun* notes: "When an offense
 has been committed through error, the chief of the
 village would examine the case and impose a fine on the
 party to blame and present this to the other party." It
 is evident that those in power could abuse this custom
 and acquire wealth by challenging others to a *Charanke*
 over a trifle.

681 Another important method of settling disputes was
 578 a duel with clubs. This was the *Ukaru*, *U* meaning
 627 "mutually" and *Karu* meaning "to beat," the whole
 word literally being taken as to beat each other with
 clubs. The clubs were called *Shuto*. This custom was
 called *Shutouchi* in Japan and the term became cor-
 rupted to *Suzuuchi*, *Sutsuuchi*, and *Tsuchiuchi*. *Shu-*
touchi along with *Tsugunai* was an important method
 of settling disputes. The *Waterishima Hikki* notes:
 "When a matter was arbitrated between two individuals
Tsugunai was offered and if it was refused the one was
 beaten on the hip by the other with a club until he
 bled and apologized. This is called *Ukaru*." The
Hokkai Zuihitsu states: "This was used when one so

⁶⁷ *Tōkai Yawa*.

⁶⁸ Chiri Yukie trans. *Ainu Shinyō Shū* (Ainu psalms), 116-117, fn. ['God's window' was opposite the entrance and back of the altar in an Ainu house. Sacred and covered with a screen, it was a sacrilege to peep through this window through which the bear was carried into the huntsman's house.]

⁶⁹ "Without knowing that his parents and family were dead I asked him how they were whereupon tears came flowing from his eyes and greatly enraged he demanded atonement." *Waterishima Hikki*.

⁷⁰ "It is said to be the law of this country that *Tsugunai* had to be paid if one saw the vagina." *Tōi Shuran* (Observations of Eastern Ezo), vol. 2 of *Ichisatusowa* (Conversations about the land of the barbarians).

⁷¹ "They did not do any thing rude facing the sea. Therefore, if an Ezo found another urinating toward the sea he would immediately demand *Tsugunai*." *Ibid*. "A person urinated upon the grave of an Ezo's father. The Ezo was furious but the argument was settled by presenting *Tsugunai*." *Tōyō Ki*.

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those days it says: "Each year when these Ezo visited Matsumae castle they were made to walk under the castle gate on which naked swords had been crossed and also under an unsheathed spear."

It is said that this was done to discourage them from revolt.⁴⁰ This book further notes: "When the Ezo came to visit the lord, the Japanese armed themselves fully in order to impress the natives." There is a passage in the *Ezo Koku Shiki* which demonstrates the political importance of these visits.

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When becoming an *Otona* the Ezo must beforehand prepare gifts to present to the lord such as Ezo brocade or rare goods from China. He must get in touch with the manager of the post who operates the vessels coming to his village as well as with the interpreter, foreman, and the lodging house in Matsumae. Having thus prepared all this, the *Otona* takes his parents, brothers, wives and children to Matsumae where he would put up at the lodging house. After reporting his arrival and intentions to the chief steward, he would make his call on an auspicious day and present his gifts. The lord would offer him sake and tobacco and a certificate for rice. After leaving the castle and taking a brief rest he would go again to the castle to bid farewell. The next day he would receive rice for his certificate and then, waiting for a fair day, set out for home where he would become *Otona* and govern his village.

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It was then essential to pay a visit to the lord when becoming an *Otona*. The above quotation should be considered with the record in *Mōjin Seia Dan*. "When the chiefdom changed it was reported to the lord." The visit came to be regarded as the courtesy call of a new chief. Originally there was no difference in social position for at the end of the seventeenth century the chief was allowed to sit next the lord. In later years the chief had to sit on a straw mat placed in the courtyard.⁴¹ In contrast to the *Uimamu* at Matsumae there was at each *Basho* a ceremony called *Omusha* which, similar to the *Uimamu* pattern, began to be used as a method of rule arising from ceremony. It is believed that *Omusha* comes from either the Japanese *Obusha* or *Osha* but there is no reliable derivation.⁴² Some seek the origin in the Ainu language; the author of *Tōkai Yawa* believes it derives from "Ikohi Yasurafu" [rest or recess].⁴³ However, this is taken from a later context and does not seem to have much authority. I believe *Omusha* came from *Umusha*.⁴⁴ In the Ainu language the distinction between *O* and *U* is not very clear and there are many examples when Japanese have taken the one for the other. "*U*" means "mutually" and "*musha*" is "to pat the other on the head out of courtesy." It is then an etiquette involving the mutual patting of heads. *Umusha* is also called *Uruirnye* (commonly *Uriri*) and is a custom used among the Ainu when

⁴⁰ Tsugaru Kibun.

⁴¹ Tatematsu Tomo, *Tōyuki* in *SHS* 2: illustration No. 1.

⁴² Ishiba Takakado, *Omusha Ko*, in *Higashi Ezo Nikki* 2.

⁴³ *Tōkai Yawa*.

⁴⁴ Takakura Shinichirō, "Omusha Ko" in *Minzokugaku Kenkyū* 1 (3).

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 people meet again after a long absence. They stand face to face and after shaking hands start talking while, at the same time, patting each other from head to knee. When the Japanese came to the *Basho*, Ezo would be waiting for them and after *Umusha* would start to trade. This is described in the *Tōyu Zakki*: "The Ezo, upon arrival in port of the vessel, would, when the men from Matsumae landed, pat their shoulders or even embrace them to show their feelings." *Omusha* gradually changed into a formality. The change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki*:

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 When the first vessel arrived from the mainland in the spring, there were inquiries and rejoicings about each other's health. After a brief greeting many instructions were given to the natives such as "work hard during the fishing season," "do not make trouble with nearby villages but live in peace with them," "when a ship is in distress lend all the aid you can and never take advantage of the situation to steal." "Then two cups of sake were offered to each Ezo together with pipe and tobacco."

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 According to this, the gifts were one sided. But when an official was on board the Ezo also presented a gift. The *Ezo no Shima Bumi* [A Journey to Ezo] has a passage on *Omusha* at Kunashiri Island written in 1801, "Gifts from the lord were sacks of rice, sake, yeast, and tobacco. The Ezo offered eagle feathers, *Eburiko* [*fomes officinalis* Fr.] and *Ikema* [*cyanchum caudatum maxim*, swallowwort]. Thus, it became a duty of the trade supervisor to collect eagle feathers, animal skins, and Santan products which the Ezo offered in *Omusha*."

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 As the products of Ezo increased in variety and quantity and as the Japanese stayed longer in Ezo an added custom came to be practiced. This was "*Uetotsukobaku*" or "*Sharanpa*"—a kind of ceremony of closing the trade. "*Uettukopak*" meant to "bid goodbye" and "*Sharanpa*" is from the Japanese "*Saraba*" both having the meaning of leave taking. It is described in *Watarishima Hikki* as follows:

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 In autumn when all activities in the mountains and the sea come to an end the merchants, before returning to the mainland, give instructions to the Ezo to repair the nets and boats during the winter and to store goods until spring. After that sake is served to the Ezo, including the women and children, and everyone drinks and sings to their hearts' content.

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 And since these two ceremonies marked respectively the beginning and the end of the trade, it was customary to "check with each native the excesses and shortages in his account so that further arrangements could be made." The *Watarishima Hikki* says that *Omusha* became an autumn event held after the trade was over. "The Ezo in general did not keep count of the days and months and were little concerned by the passage of time. There were some who would drink all day and be in bed for the next three days and at times as much as ten day would be wasted, which was very inconvenient for the Japanese." As the years went by the Ezo became familiar with instructions and since there

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was no breaking of the regulations the *Omusha* was gradually omitted and only the *Uetotsukobaku* party was held at departure time. Since the *Omusha* had been considered the more important of the two ceremonies, the *Uetotsukobaku* came to be called "Omusha." This latter type is the *Omusha* referred to in the *Igen Zokuwa* written in 1790 and, during the same year an *Omusha* was held twice in Sōya. The first, held "on June 10 at the Sōya council house, gathered because the sea cucumber season was at an end and the Ezo wanted to return home together with the Ezo from Enobetsu and other low country people" while the second one was, "in the latter part of July to mark the end of the year's trading."

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Thus *Omusha*, originally a ceremony of greeting after a long absence, became an event celebrating the close of the trading or fishing season and this change came about parallel to the growth of more complex relations between the Ezo and the Japanese. Since it was the only occasion in which Japanese and Ezo assembled peacefully, it came to be used as a method of control over the natives when such necessity arose. These ceremonies, except at *Basho* owned directly by the daimyō and where supervisors were sent, were managed by the superintendents or interpreters of the respective *Basho*. According to *Hokui Dan* [On the Northern barbarians], "When there was a change in the Matsu-mae family *Omusha* was held at each *Basho* post by the managers and interpreters who clothed themselves in official garb while the *Otona* and *Miyagedori* [gift bearers] also dressed in their best, came together to receive instructions and regulations."

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These regulations were originally no more than an arrangement to guide the conduct of the Mainland Japanese by the managers of trade but as Japanese power grew the managers and officials of the daimyō began to make regulations for the Ezo as well. "Aboard the vessel to Ezo the lord sent a *Uwanori* and an interpreter. At the post a high platform would be built and from this the regulations would be read while the Ezo gathered around and listened with respect."⁴⁵ The *Uwanoriyaku* was an official who supervised the trade. The trade itself had once been carried on by the Matsu-mae and the *Basho* developed by them.⁴⁶ As time passed and the *Basho* fell into the hands of merchants the areas of trade retained directly by the daimyō were limited to new fishing grounds and to what was called "light goods," i.e. eagle feathers, furs and skins, bear livers, and Santan goods. Since the merchants were forbidden to handle these goods one or two *Uwanori-yaku* were sent with the trading vessels to see that this

⁴⁵ Tōyūki.

⁴⁶ For example, the acquisition of sea cucumber grounds in Karafuto in 1751 was under Kato Kihei who was the *Uwanori* of Sōya, *Kita Ezochi Hattan no Nukigaki* (Original documents on Northern Ezo) and the Shiranuka *Basho* was opened by the clansman Tobiuchi Kameemon, *Ōkō Ezojin no Hanashi no Kikizentae Hikae* (Notes on stories told by the old Ezo).

*648 since manpower during the summer could not be dispensed with.⁴

*175 After the tributary visit to the Magistrate the group reported to the Hakodate Office and presented gifts. Another report was submitted after the party had returned to their *Basho*.⁵ The gifts presented consisted chiefly of products of the *Basho* or of handicraft work made by the natives during the winter.⁶ For example we have a list of gifts given by the Niikappu *Basho* in 1818.

Gifts to Matsumae

Ten Ezo handmade towel hangers
Fifteen knife sheaths
Twenty spoons
Twenty writing brush holders
Twenty spools
Two hundred dried sea slugs

Gifts to Hakodate

Five Ezo handmade towel holders
Ten knife sheaths
Ten spoons
Ten writing brush holders
Ten spools
One hundred twenty dried sea slugs

*648 The ceremony for the interview and the presentation of gifts by the Magistrate was probably more or less the same as that of the Later Matsumae period and the later Bakufu Administrative Period but materials for this particular period are not available. However, as we shall see in the next chapter, it is apparent that, in order to achieve dignity, the ceremony was conducted with grandeur, with various presents being given to the natives, and the entire affair was used by the authorities to establish a mutual understanding. Ceremonies similar to the above but on a smaller scale were held at the meeting house, tax office, or guardhouse of

*576 [576] [B31] [200] "The annual visits of gratitude which, taking place at the beginning of the year, are made to the Magistracy by those Ezo with titles, will take place once every five years. During the year prior to the year of the visit the *Basho* will be notified and handicrafts and other presents shall be prepared during the leisure of winter. Lists of those Ezo who are to attend will also be prepared and the presents when ready will be brought to the guardhouse where they will be examined and sealed. If the *Basho* engages in trout fishing and the year happens to be an abundant one, the Ezo may request the guardhouse to postpone their visit until the following year. One *Otona* and one *Kozuka* will make the visit from each *Basho* and the number of persons will be kept down to a necessary minimum." Bunsei mizumoeuma nishichi hikiwatashi ensetsusho (Instructions pertaining to the transfer of the Western territories in the year 1822).

⁵ "Orei Ezoin. . ."

⁶ "Presents from the Ezo consisted of eagle tails, rush mats and other goods obtained in the *Basho*. . . ." "Kusuri Basho hikiwatashi ikken. . . ."

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each *Basho*. Sometimes they were held as an annual event at the beginning of the year following the traditional custom of *Omusha* and sometimes on such occasions as the arrival of officials on tours of inspection.

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The *Omusha* was the most important of the annual events. It has been discussed in Part Two, Chap. IV, Sect. 1. Beginning as a ceremony of primarily economic significance, it became an occasion for the Matsumae to give presents and at the same time issue regulations and it became an integral part of the government of native . . . In this period it became even more important. It was held annually in August and its intent was, as in the case of *Ekkenrei*, to win the respect of the Ezo. At the *Omusha* the officials, in a dignified manner, talked to the Ezo and gave them abundant gifts. During this occasion a number of other matters were taken

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care of (1) The appointment and dismissal of Ezo with titles (*Go Ezo*). (2) The awarding of special wages and gifts to Ezo with titles. (3) The rewarding of dutiful sons and daughters and those people of good conduct. (4) The presentation of gifts to widowers, persons without families or relatives and to the old. (5) The reading of laws and regulations. The Ezo were then treated to food and sake by the *Kaishō* and the *Unjōya*. The laws differed according to the *Basho* but they are set down in greater detail than the regulations of previous periods and they covered not only public but private affairs which the authorities considered ought to be regulated. The law of the Etorofu *Basho* is quoted below.

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1. Laws previously promulgated shall be strictly observed.

2. The Shogunate shall be respected; parents will be treated with care and husband and wife and brother and sister shall live in peace. Honesty shall come first in all matters.

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3. All shall live on good terms without quarrels, fights, or other disputes. It is absolutely forbidden to scheme to obtain compensation. (*Tsugunai*.) Supplement: Anyone spreading false rumors is to be taken to the *Kaishō*. No arguments, quarrels, or other unfavorable incidents have been reported in the past and it is to be hoped that such strict control will be maintained. Anyone who does not willingly observe the regulations will be reported. Have nothing to do with those who violate the law but report them to the manager for judgment.

4. It is unlawful for persons to gather in large numbers to discuss unrighteous matters, regardless of their nature. This is absolutely forbidden. Anyone who without delay reports those with evil intentions shall be rewarded with gifts and his offense pardoned if he was a conspirator.

5. Persons arriving from abroad or from islands further away than *Uruppu* are not to be permitted to land but are to be ordered back. Such incidents are to be reported to the *Kaishō* whether by day or by night.

6. Needless to say, a report is to be made immediately if a Russian vessel is sighted and each person is then to report to the *Kaishō* with his bow and arrows.

Supplement: In the event of a foreign invasion all males between fifteen and sixty will at once leave their tasks to the women and the old and report with their weapons to

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the *Kaishō*. Places for the evacuation of the children and the old are to be prepared beforehand so that no one may be taken prisoner and to eliminate any confusion.

7. In the past rice, tobacco, and sake have been brought in small amounts from Akkeshi *Basho* for trade. But ever since the Shogunate started to develop this area the people here have been diligent and the Shogunate has been generous enough to provide them with rice, sake, and tobacco in abundant amounts, as well as other necessities. The reason that many Japanese officials are stationed here is to protect this island from foreign countries and to educate the people. Appreciation is expected for these considerations and the people should work hard as ever under the direction of the contractor, manager, and guards. In comparison to the difficulties encountered in the past by the people of this island the fact that everyone now lives in abundance and without fear should be greatly appreciated and the benevolence of the Shogunate conveyed to posterity.

8. Naturally those engaged in fishing should labor diligently under the contractor, manager, and guards and preparations made for lean years by storing food in spare time.

9. Eagle tails shall be prepared, in winter, as has been done in the past and taken to the *Kaishō* when the *Otona* goes there for the New Year's greetings. Any other articles obtained shall first be inspected at the guardhouse after which they shall be presented to the *Kaishō* by the *Otona* when he calls on business.

Supplement: Since barter in furs and skins is prohibited to the guards, the *Otona* will inform all villages not to violate this prohibition.

10. As old customs are being revised, one should make one's language follow that of the guards.

11. Recently people with disheveled hair have been noticed. Everyone is on notice to dress his hair.

12. When young men reach a certain age, they shall take a wife. It is forbidden, even for *Otona*, to have many mistresses.

13. Since doctors are available, those falling ill shall immediately report to the *Kaishō* for treatment. Furthermore, it is the duty of *Otona* and *Kozukai* to see that all unfortunates, including the sick, the old without family, and the blind, are well taken care of and such cases, reported to the *Kaishō* will be taken care of by the Shogunate via the *Kaishō*.

14. If anyone, contractors, managers, guards, and even subjects at the guardhouse, acts in an unreasonable or unjust manner, such action is to be reported immediately and, in case there are matters which it is preferred not to report to the manager, they are to be reported directly to the guard posts through any villager capable of interpreting. Any other business which requires either immediate notice or privacy of handling may also be reported to the guard post as above.

15. All villagers are to maintain a coastal watch and report any unusual incident to the *Kaishō*. Such watch shall, from time to time, be conducted at night.

16. In accord with previous instructions no camp or other type of fire is permitted near *Kaishō* or guardhouses in the mountains. The *Otona* is to relay this order to all his people.

The regulations and instructions mentioned above are to be strictly observed and their meaning conveyed to all people.

It should be noted that the significance of *Omusha* changes from that of the previous period. Previously

¹ *Eso Fuzoku Issa* 2: 1.

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the central character had been the *Basho* contractor. Now *Omusha* is taken over as a Shogunal ceremony and its connection with contractors becomes slight. This tendency is most conspicuous in East Ezo where direct trade was carried out. For another thing, in previous times *Omusha* had marked the grand closing of the fishing season whereas this now diminishes in importance and the settlement of the seasonal fishing accounts is conducted separately from *Omusha*. In addition a ceremony quite similar to *Omusha* was beginning to be held when officials arrived on inspection tours. That is, instructions were read to the natives, gifts presented to those with titles, those who worked hard, those with good conduct records, aged widowers, those without relatives, the ill, and those in need. This ceremony was carried out with great regularity after the Russian incursions of 1806-1807.* Ceremonies carried out during inspection trips made by magistrates or inspectors or by *Basho* officials were of a similar nature although on a much smaller scale.*

2 RELIEF MEASURES AND POLICY

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While various means of appeasement were utilized by the Japanese government, the random giving of gifts was avoided as much as possible. An extreme example of this policy, which was decried by Mogami Tokunai, is cited below:

The opinion of officials is that it is better to control the people by setting up laws, even if there are complaints about the law, than to give away goods to make them happy, since the latter method can scarcely be expected to last very long. This sounds like a reasonable opinion but it is a mistaken one. The enactment of laws despite the practical situation of the people is applicable only to the farmers of Japan. This same method when applied to the Ezo who are yet to be considered as good as other people might well be called "Blind Administration by Power" as is stated in the Canon of History. People coerced into submission by stringent national laws can hardly be called "treasures of the nation."¹⁰

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However, the Bakufu did not hesitate to aid the poor, the needy, and the widowed. The following article which was to be read as part of the *Omusha Moshi Kikasesho* [Instructions to be read at *Omusha*] on Etorofu Island was probably actually carried out:

Otona and *Kozukai* shall see to it that the blind and crippled, the old and homeless are well taken care of. These people shall also be reported to the *Kaisho* where appropriate aid will be given.

* Hotta Settsu no kami e Rōjū kakitori (Letter from the Shogunal Council to Lord Hotta of Settsu), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 3 in *SHS* 5: 1216.

* Examples can be found in the *Heishin Jōtetsu* taken from the visits made by Lord Kawajiri of Higo in 1808 and by Lord Arao of Tajima. *Edo Sōsho* [Collection of materials on Edo] 11: 287-289.

¹⁰ Mogami Tokunai, *Ezo Sōshi* 2. Section on "Matters disliked by the Ezo."

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 Japanese language was cancelled and its use was encouraged. Bad traditions were discouraged and moral instruction was given along with reading and writing while a sort of military training, for use in emergencies, was conducted.²³ Among the customs the Bakufu tried to abolish were polygamy and *Tsugunai*. Most of the Ezo with any social standing kept mistresses, some as many as ten or more and this created a situation where poor boys, when they matured, were unable to get a wife. The Bakufu did everything possible to discourage polygamy while, at the same time, encouraging monogamy. *Tsugunai*, the ancient practice of disputation in which the loser forfeited his worldly goods had been turned, by the greedy, into a sort of survival of the fittest. Attempts had been made to abolish it in the pre-Bakufu period and the Bakufu, in turn, tried vigorously to stamp it out.²⁴ The Bakufu also taught the Ezo to be obedient to parents, to live in harmony with one's relatives, to be honest at all times, and not to argue or quarrel, and the Bakufu officials themselves tried to set the examples which they taught.

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 Education instructions in these matters and commendation for success achieved usually took place at *Omusha* in order that the awards receive as much public attention as possible to stimulate the others. For example, an Ezo of Kunashiri named Hero was given permission to sit beside the chief on *Omusha* day and he was then awarded a suit of clothes because the report of the officials showed that he was a dutiful son.²⁵ Furthermore, awards surpassing the mere giving of gifts were available at times other than *Omusha*. An interesting example is that of Ezo Apepana of Uenbetsu.

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 The official Inoue Tatsunosuke of Nemuro had noticed that Apepana, despite his youth, was a hard-working man and he tried to get him to go to Nemuro *Kaishō* to work. Apepana refused on the grounds that he was obliged to support his family. Inoue was so struck with this sense of duty that he remarked, "Mere goods were not enough to praise his devotion to his parents." and he had the entire family of Apepana

²³ That the Bakufu attempted to make use of the natives in time of emergency can be seen in the report of an *Omusha* from Etorofu. It instructs young men to assemble at the post bearing their own weapons when Russian vessels are sighted. In Karafuto the Ezo were assembled and given bows and arrows and rifles as well as military instruction while the guards were given such assignments as mobilizing the natives, watching out for fire hazards, patrolling Ezo dwellings and preparing food.

²⁴ An example of the abuse of *Tsugunai* is found in the *Higashi Ezo Nikki*. It states that when a servant of chief Sakana of Abuta fell to his death in a waterfall near Subetsu, the chief claimed that, "My servant's death is due to the existence of such a waterfall in Usu *Baiko*. The waterfall, therefore, shall be given to me as compensation" and he won his argument. The *Kamikawa Kenbun Kidan* [Strange stories and observations about Kamikawa] states that a native wishing to obtain a treasured bowl owned by another conspired with his wife to accuse the other of adultery and achieved his purpose. It is believed that in this period such cases were not infrequent.

²⁵ *Hokkaidō Shi* 13.

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people" and "Thus the task cannot be carried out immediately but the intention should always be borne in mind."⁴³ Thus Bakufu policy was to go no further than to induce the natives themselves to desire a change.

Great success was had in some areas. In the *Matsumae Kikō* [Journey through Matsumae], written in 1808, it is said that in the area between Ootoshibe and Nodaoi "there were many men and women who suddenly took to Japanese ways." On the other hand, there were areas where over-enthusiastic officials prohibited *Mekkakiri* and the bear festival and enforced changes and thus created ill feeling and criticism among the Ezo. This was particularly true in those areas which had had little contact with Japanese. Since some of the Ezo chiefs of that day had both power and sense, they refused to follow the instructions of Bakufu officials.⁴⁴ When Matsudaira Tadaaki passed through Biro *Basho* (later called Tokachi *Basho*), he issued orders for the Ezo to bow and kneel instead of rubbing together their palms because he disliked the latter gesture.⁴⁵ It was reported that the Ezo replied that, while it was easy for them to alter their etiquette, they felt uneasy about a future under officials who could not appreciate their customs and, no matter how the interpreters tried to solace the natives, their suspicions could not be quieted.⁴⁶ Mogami Tokunai who realized the difficulty inherent in this policy and who opposed the changes stated in his *Ezo Sōshi*, Vol. 2:

It is stated in the chapter on Royal Administration in the Book of Rites that, where people differ in their laws, tools, clothes, and moral standards, it is best they be educated and their government improved but their customs and moral standards be left unchanged. This should be borne in mind in governing Ezo.

Baba Masamichi mentions this matter in his *Chōya-yoron* [Long Nights Conversations] wherein he ridicules the ignorance of those Bakufu officials who urged the natives to live on cereals instead of meat and to use cotton instead of warm furs. He states:

it was difficult for even the saints to change an established custom so, for ordinary men, this task is impossible. It is best that the natives be left alone and that we wait for them to become loyal subjects. However, this does not necessarily mean that those natives who are yet to be

⁴³ Ezo goyogakari.

⁴⁴ "Natives of other *Basho* have come to appreciate and have respect for Bakufu administration and a number of them have gradually changed their way of life to follow the pattern of Japan. However, those Ezo living within the territory of Chief Ikotoi of Akkeshi are quite determined not to change their customs and there is not one native there who follows Japanese ways." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Higashi Ezochi Kikō*.

⁴⁵ The native's most courteous obeisance was accompanied by a clasping together of the hands as is stated in *Ainu Fuzoku Ryakuki* [Brief sketch of Ainu customs]: "In expressing their courtesy to the Japanese, they would kneel down, clasp their hands together and recite. . . ." For further details refer to Batchelor's *The Ainu and their legends*, 79 ff.

⁴⁶ See Ezojin ni heifuku seishimuru koto (Enforced obeisance of the Ezo), *EFI* 2 (7) and in *Ezo Sōshi* 2.

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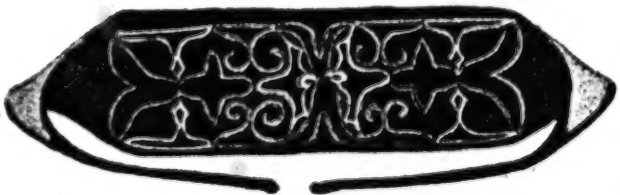


TWO MEN GREETING ONE ANOTHER

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BRIDEGROOM'S TOKEN TO HIS BETROTHED



BRIDE'S TOKEN TO HER BETROTHED

CHAPTER XII

MANNERS AND ETIQUETTE

I found Chief Penri to be a splendid teacher, and^{576●} when I asked him if he would be good enough to give me instruction in the old ancient rules of Ainu etiquette while I was in his home, he was delighted and took me in hand at once. I asked him to do this because I saw several persons at different times inadvertently give offence through ignorance of such knowledge, while others would cause heart-burnings from sheer impudence or thoughtlessness.

One day as I was sitting in my accustomed place on my tub, hard at work, I was surprised to see a very rough looking Japanese stalk in, keeping his dirty foot-gear on, without so much as saying "By your leave," and go and seat himself near the place of honour by the hearth. His "how do you do" was a quick nod and a sharp grunt. Without a word he took out his tobacco pipe and began to smoke. Moreover, he informed the householders that he intended to spend the night with them. Penri and his wife were very much concerned and asked me in Ainu to try and get rid of him. I then told him that I had hired the house and was staying there and that, as I wanted to be very quiet, I would ask him to seek lodgings elsewhere. Without so much as saying "good bye," the fellow left at once.

This man seemed to have worked my good host and hostess up pretty much, for no sooner was he out of the door than Penri gave the hearth a sharp tap with a stick and said most emphatically, "The beast!" This was as near a swear as he could get and implied a curse.

- 576 The wife followed his example. Up she jumped, rushed as far as the door, turned her back toward the departing guest, and gave herself a hearty smack. I could not but laugh in astonishment at all this, and they laughed heartily when I asked if I also was supposed to learn and practice such etiquette. "No," the old man said, "that was a bit extra." Ah, well, there was certainly a cause for anger, but it was soon over. We made the hut ring again and again that evening, especially when I looked at Mrs. Penri and gravely shook my head at her.

574 As it had been settled that I was to be taught et-
576 quette, the process of study began at once. The Chief proposed that we should go the next day and pay a visit to the chief of another village whom I had not yet seen. "Now," said my friend as we were walking along, "you have seen for yourself that when no one is at home a wooden door is drawn before the entrance. A visitor should never remove this, but, unless someone should come out to him, go away again, knowing that the people are "not at home." When the inmates are at home a mat is hung in the doorway. Nor should this be touched too quickly. Upon approaching near to the house, a would-be caller should give a low cough or two or say in a fairly loud voice, 'he-he-he-he-hem.' Someone will then come out and invite the person in." This is exactly what happened when we reached our destination. The Chief was at home and we were soon met at the door by his wife, who invited us to enter.

As soon as Penri had made the regulation noise with his throat the door opened, and then he entered first and I followed close after. Having carefully removed our shoes, we walked quietly up by the side of the hearth and sat down. But I was at once removed up to the place of honour at the very head of the hearth. Penri sat tailor fashion opposite his brother chief and quietly and with great reverence commenced to rub his hands together by drawing back

MANNERS AND ETIQUETTE

25

first one and then the other in such a way as to allow 574
the points of the fingers gently to touch the palm of 576
each hand alternately. It was a very pleasing sight
and the ceremony was most solemn. The other chief
did likewise at the same time, while I had to sit quietly
by in a respectful manner and watch without appearing
to look. Whilst this was in progress, Penri told
his friend all about his own village affairs first, and
then what he knew of me. When this had been done,
each raised his hands to his face and stroked his beard,
at the same time making a little rumbling sound with
the throat. This I was told was the correct man's
salutation. And I was glad to take my first lesson
under such good auspices.

As soon as Penri had finished, he gave me a pre-
arranged signal and I did likewise to the best of my
ability. It was my first essay, but as I had seen how
they did it and had been well coached beforehand as
to what to say, I made no mistakes. Penri afterwards
told me that I did it very well! He seemed to take
quite a fatherly interest in me and all I did. When
we had finished we, as in duty bound, saluted the
mistress in the same way, and then settled down to a
long quiet talk about things in general.

The women's salutation was, I found, quite different. 562
Whilst the men were doing theirs, the Chief's wife 576
sat quietly by the side of her spouse, reverently hold-
ing one hand over her mouth, though at times she
took it away when it was necessary to make up the
fire. As we saluted her, she sat very still with her
eyes cast down for a few minutes and then slowly
brushed back the front locks of her hair and placed
one hand over her mouth. Next she stretched her left
hand down her side to the full length; after that she
drew the index finger of the right hand gradually up
the middle of the left hand and arm as far as the
shoulder. She then very quietly and gracefully drew
this same right hand index finger from left to right

- 562 across the upper lip close under her nose and ended
● 576 by stroking and smoothing the forelocks of her hair
back behind her ears with her hands. Such was the
general mode of salutation practised by the women.
It was a tedious matter, though graceful in its way.
But such salutations are now being superseded by the
[178] Japanese methods, though in rare cases the older
women still keep up the practice.

When the women have been away from their homes for a year or two and upon their return meet with their sisters and other female friends and relatives, they appear to take great delight in seizing one another with a firm grip by the shoulders and weeping profusely on each others' necks. I have seen women in this position for fully half an hour on end. While doing this they chant to one another and in a sing-song manner make known their whole personal history, and that of their friends, since they last met. Several times have we been kept awaiting our dinner for an hour or more while our servants have been engaged in this peculiar employment! Even the men do this performance at times among themselves; and it used to be common to see a father and daughter sitting in front of one another, the former holding the latter's hands lovingly in his own; even the men so greeted one another sometimes. They all seemed to be very fond of one another and waxed quite hysterical over it on occasion. I did not mind their doing this, but I'm afraid we did not like being kept for hours with nothing to eat after a long ride, when we were hungry. For when these people get worked up there is no doing anything with them. They go clean off their heads for a while. The children were greeted by merely having their heads stroked.

- 576 I am persuaded that this tearful greeting is not all
171 of it natural, nor is it entirely conventional. It seems
to me to be a mixture of each. It is simply "old
custom." When in New Zealand a few years ago, I

MANNERS AND ETIQUETTE

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found that even there a somewhat similar custom was kept up by the Maoris. They, men and women too, cry outright and hug and kiss friends who are about to depart on a journey or have just returned from one, and this proceeding lasts for quite a long time on occasion. In India, also, among the Chauhans of the Central Provinces, the women weep on one another's necks when they meet after a long separation. And when they thus weep it is a point of etiquette that the elder should stop first and then beg her companion to do so. But if it is doubtful which is the elder, they sometimes go on for a very long time exciting the young spectators to mirth, until at length some elder steps forward and tells them to stop. 576 ● 171

Continuing his instruction, my chief said, "Never enter a house with your shoes on; be sure to take your hat off; never rush in or out of a house, but go quietly and gravely; never look into a house through a window; treat the east-end window as very sacred; never throw anything out of any window; never throw anything into the fire; do not touch another person's fire; do not go eavesdropping; never address a stranger unless he first speaks to you; if it is necessary to address a stranger, first say, 'Your Honour'; when you meet another person step off the path and let him have the right of way; let a woman always, when she meets a man, take off her head-dress, cover her mouth with her hand, step to one side and look upon the ground; let her even turn sidewise; never strike a burning log upon the hearth; never turn the point of any edged tool toward the fire; never by any means allow human hair or nail parings to fall upon the hearth," and so forth. Such were old Penri's rules of etiquette and I think I never lost anything by being careful to conform to them as much as possible. [778 342]

One day an interesting thing happened while I was in Penri's house. A Japanese traveller came in to have an argument with me on Christianity, for he did 117

117 not like a foreigner bringing in a new religion to his country. We talked for quite a long time and at last he got so worked up as to lose his temper. In order to clinch his side of the matter with more emphasis, he wound up by seizing a fire-brand and giving the fire itself a big blow with it, and then stalked out. That was the very worst thing he could have done for himself and his cause, but the best thing possible for me and mine. The Ainu who were present were astonished beyond measure at this great breach of etiquette. The fireplace is the very seat of the goddess of fire, the great ancestress of the Ainu race. It was a fearful insult to her and to all of them. With that blow both the man and his arguments lost all respect.

[354
778
372] 574 I found the Ainu a very hospitable people, but sometimes guests would outstay their welcome. What, then, could be done to get them to leave? In such a case Penri told me that his people made a kind of feast which was named "The feast of being sent back, the mouth having been cooked for." By making this feast and calling in a few friends to share it with the guest, a big hint was given him that his absence would be more valued than his presence. When the feast was over the friends would all bid him "good bye!" If he did not take the hint and continued to stay on, the hostess would go with her husband and lodge with a neighbour till he walked off. I have seen this done once only. I thought it was a splendid idea and in the case I have in mind it was not considered as a breach of etiquette, nor did it destroy friendship. It was a well understood proceeding.

252 eat it raw, but if too much is taken, it causes scrofula or boils.

782 All things are looked upon as gods or demons in their own sphere and order. Cereals are said to be gods and are worshipped, and eating the firstfruits is a religious act. Thus an Ainu gave me the following lore on this subject. It is a prayer to the god of cereals.

788 "O thou Cereal Deity, we worship thee. Thou hast grown very well this year, and thy flavour will be sweet. Thou art good. The Goddess of Fire will be glad, and we shall rejoice greatly. O thou god, O divine cereal, do thou nourish the people. We now partake of thee. We worship thee and give thee thanks." After having thus prayed, the worshipper takes a cake and eats it, and from this time the common people may all begin to eat the new millet.

And so with many gestures of homage and words of prayer this kind of food is dedicated to the well-being of the people.

782 No doubt the cereal offering is regarded as a tribute
776 paid to God, but that god is none other than the vital principle in the seed itself; and it is only a god in so far as it is beneficial to the human body. The conclusion I have arrived at from this and other examples is that the cereals are considered as a kind of totem gods, and that the Ainu idea of holding communion with such gods is by eating them and thus partaking of their goodness and life-giving essence. The same idea underlies the bear festival.

576 On a certain occasion I gave some cauliflower seeds
264 to an Ainu friend, but on going to pay him a visit later, found the plants in danger of running to seed. Upon asking him and his wife why they had not cut and eaten them, the lady replied: "You yourself have not yet partaken of them. We cannot touch them till you have first eaten some." Of course I cut some at once, cooked them, and was very glad to dedicate

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927

AB6 Ainu AB6

SUSTENANCE

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them by feasting on them. After that the other people had their turn. 576 ● 264

The Ainu had, we found, a curious aversion to eating double fruit. They were afraid of it. One year we had a double vegetable marrow growing in our garden. As we were about to cut half of it to use in the kitchen, our cook begged us not to do so, and all joined her in saying that should we eat it we should certainly be bewitched. No one could tell me why. It was simply an old saying of the ancient ones. And so out of regard to their scruples and fears and superstitions, we denied ourselves and got no marrow that day for dinner. 264

[417]



A POTHOOK

539 I will give you a smoke.' She was startled by the sudden appearance of the man and her heart throbbed. She took out her pipe and filled it herself from her own leather pouch and began to smoke. But she did not take any of his tobacco.*

"Nevertheless the man himself also smoked his own tobacco. When they had finished their pipes, the man again asked her for hers but she once more refused to give it to him. He then boldly reached over with his hand and seized it. He quickly filled it out of his pouch and offered it to her. But she would not take it. So he lighted it himself and forced her to take a whiff. No sooner had she drawn in the smoke than a great change took place. Up to that time she had been afraid of the young man, but after taking his tobacco she completely lost all her timidity and even allowed him to kiss her. She immediately fell in love with him. The man then helped her to dig up the tubers, so that very soon they filled the basket full. He asked her to become his wife and as she agreed they forthwith married.**

"The woman then went back to her home and the young man departed to the forest again. Upon reaching home the lady had something to eat, and then set to work preparing a feast.

"According to her own account, 'When I had finished my meal, I went up into the storehouse and took a basket full of *frillaria* bulbs. With these I returned

•[576] *According to Ainu etiquette in the north, every newly-come guest was expected to fill his host's pipe on entering the house, and the host afterward returned the compliment. The young man desired to be regarded as a guest and so offered to conform to the recognized customs. But the lady wished to be very proper and not become too familiar with him in this way, especially out of doors. Hence her refusal to accept a smoke from him.

[582] **A mere mutual agreement to marry among the Ainu constituted a marriage. No special ceremony was required.

HUT BUILDING AND DEDICATION

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another should be made in its place and children born and brought up in it.' So now, O God, this room is finished and the heart has been given it. Do Thou and the Goddess of Fire keep the people in good health. We offer Thee fetishes. Pray see that those who shall dwell in this house do not become ill."

After the walls have been covered in and the roof quite thatched, many fetishes are made, the furniture brought in, and the chief household god set up in his corner in the sacred place which is his.

When building their homes in olden days the men were very careful to drive in two good-sized stakes at the head of the hearth, one in the right-hand and the other in the left-hand corner. They were set there in a very reverential manner, with many prayers and much ceremony. Like almost everything else, they were called "gods" and treated with awe. They were even worshipped and had libations offered them on occasion. No house was considered safe to dwell in without these objects, and they were supposed to bring good or ill fortune as befitted the case.

I once quite unwittingly gave great offence to a chief I was visiting on a very cold day, by resting my heels on one of his little posts and turning the soles of my feet towards the blazing fire, to warm them. Fortunately, my good friend chief Penri was sitting by my side and explained to me the heinous crime of impiety I was thereby committing. I took them off directly and apologized for the act. Clouds at once passed away and peace was restored so that we got along in perfect concord.

The proper full name of these two stakes is *inumbé-sa-ushbe*, which means, "Objects set at the head of the hearth." Those I saw in chief Penri's house were very good specimens. The old man told me that they were about three feet long and had been driven into the hearth corners with a wooden mallet. So deeply had they been driven in that only about six inches

342 cluster outside toward the sunrise, they should be
778 made and consecrated by the fireside and then passed
through the window. So, too, when a bear or deer or
bird has been killed or any precious gift brought to the
house, it ought always to be taken in through the east-
end window. Hence it comes to pass that the east
window is called by such names as "Window through
which fetishes pass"; "Window through which sacred
things pass." For these reasons the east-end window
is to be very highly esteemed and nothing should be
heedlessly thrown out of it. Nor, again, should any
person look into a house through it."

342 When the hut is finished, the warming festival
takes place in good earnest, and there are beforehand
many smiles of pleasurable anticipation. The men and
women quickly become very busy indeed, the women
outside pounding millet for the dumplings, and the men
attending to the religious part. It is very interesting
to see the men making their fetishes. Some are told
off to make small ones to hang up inside and outside
the hut; some make theirs for the fireside, others for
the sleeping places, treasure corner, doorways, win-
dows, gardens, springs, rivers and outhouses. And
all of them are devoutly worshipped and libations of-
fered and drunk to them. When worshipping them,
[264] each man dips his moustache-lifter into the *saké*
he holds in his hand ready, and takes out three drops,
which he allows to fall before the object being prayed
to. Even the pots, pans, kettles, water tubs and the
other furniture and utensils are all treated in the same
way. Nothing is left out. In the meantime the women
and girls have pounded their dough for the dumplings,
made it into cakes, and placed it in the pots hanging
over the fires upon the hearth.

342 Very soon the noise begins. All talk at once and
273 drink deeply. Even the women take *saké* then, and
sometimes give a little to their children. Some of the
men are very fond of neat alcohol, and this is so

THE AINOS OF YEZO, JAPAN.

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Saké is taken with much ceremony. One evening I visited the Ainos²⁷³ at Shari, a bottle of saké in my pocket and a paper lantern in my hand.⁵⁷⁴ I wandered along the shore in the darkness and slowly made my way to the Aino village. In spite of the howling and barking of many dogs, the people were taken by surprise. The men were sprawling about on the dirty board floor around the rectangular fireplace. When they recognized their uninvited and late visitor, they got up, spread a clean mat for me, and signified their welcome by stroking the beard.^[576] When I handed them the saké there was more beard stroking. Then they got some saké cups and a tray of mustache-sticks, finer than any I had seen, and began the ceremony of drinking. A saké cup with its²⁷³ stand, such as is represented in Fig. 77, is placed in front of the chief⁷⁹⁶



Fig. 77.

SAKÉ CUP AND STAND, AND MUSTACHE STICKS.

man, sitting on the floor before the fire, who places one of the sticks across the top, as shown in the same figure 77. Then, stroking the beard, he lifts the stand and cup with both hands, and bows the head, immediately replacing them. Saké is then poured in, and he begins to recite a long formula, which continues in a low voice during the succeeding operations. Taking the stick in the right hand, precisely as one would hold a spoon, the end is dipped into the saké and gracefully moved for-

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been colored black and brown for the same purpose. The brown color is produced by soaking the bark in water along with the bark of *Baculus turbinata*. The black color is similarly produced from the bark of the *kan-no-ki*, (*Alnus Maritima*.) The *suge* is also used for making small bags. Similar bags are sometimes made of straw.

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The bark of the Linden (*Lilia cordata*) is much used for twine, and a strong braided cord is made of this fiber. The Aino fish-nets are made of the same material.

CARRYING BURDENS.

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[54]

The usual mode of carrying burdens is by means of a band of woven or braided *ohiyo*, *Ulmus Montana* bark, passing over the forehead and tied behind the load on the back, as represented in Plate CV. These bands, called *tara* or *packai-tara*, are used also for carrying babes on the back. Sometimes a straight stick, about 15 inches in length, is tied so as to hang horizontally in the proper position to support the burden, as shown by one of the bands in the collection. The Aino women make great use of these *tara*. They will carry very heavy loads with them, and it is customary for them to bring large tubs of water to their homes precisely as the man represented in Plate CV is carrying an empty tub.

MODE OF GREETING.

576

The Aino ceremony of greeting is simple and pleasing. The two hands are placed together with palms upward and outward. They are then gracefully raised to the chin and moved downward, stroking the long beard. They may not indeed touch the beard, but the movement is the same. It may be shortened to a mere flourish of the hands, just as a bow may be made formal or short.

[77]

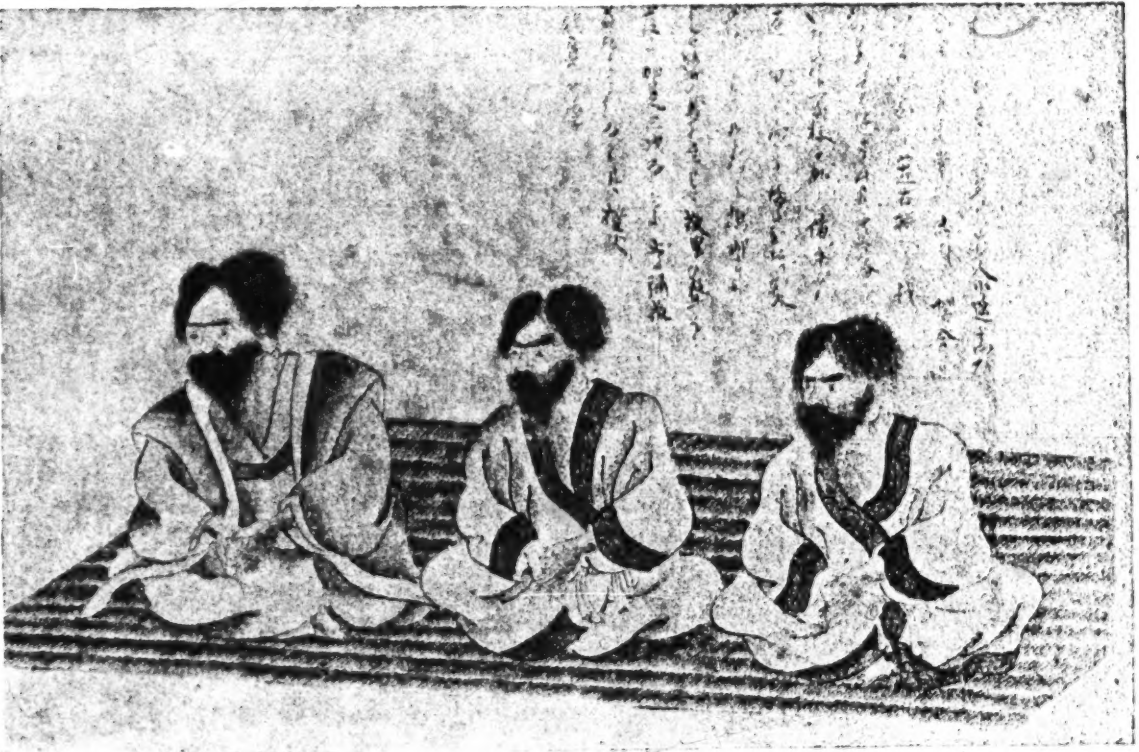
It is now quite customary for the Ainos to bow in greeting. Sometimes they squat on the floor, and then bend over until their foreheads nearly touch it. This custom is undoubtedly borrowed from the Japanese, and is not at all pleasing, as their original form of greeting certainly is. A good description of the usual form of greeting is thus given by Mr. Blackiston:

My Aino was a stranger to these people, so on meeting, before exchanging a word, he went through a ceremonious form of salutation individually with each of the principal men. This they performed by going down on their knees, holding out the hands with the palms together, rubbed them backward and forward twice, the saluted party following the motions of the saluting one, then raised both hands to a level with the chin, palms uppermost, lowered them, raised them again, stroking the beard, lowered them and performed the last operation over again, which completed the ceremony.

Mr. Greey thus describes the Aino greeting represented in Plate CVI, taken from the original Japanese drawing:

The three chiefs placed their left hands over their right and began to rub them. This they continued to do for over five minutes, during which time they looked very

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AINU CHIEFS SALUTING.

[Facing p. 464 (c)]

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AINU GREETING.

[Facing p. 464 (v)]

THE AINOS OF YEZO, JAPAN.

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grave and regarded the foreigners with great reverence. They then raised their hands and placed them on top of their heads and brought their hands down over their faces and beards and uttered a whining noise, ending with a sharp cry like the bark of a dog. 576

I have never seen this ceremony carried out in full, as described, but I doubt not the description is correct, for I have observed both the holding of the hands together and the stroking of the bearyl. Another form of the ceremony (Pl. CVII) represents the meeting of brother and sister, also from Mr. Greey. 576

The man held the woman's hand for a few seconds, then suddenly releasing his hold, grasped her by both ears and uttered the Aino cry. Then they stroked one another down the face and shoulders. 573

This form did not come under my observation, nor did I witness any such performances as the same author describes in the meeting of father and son.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

The best account of the marriage customs is that given by Dr. Scheube, from which the following particulars are abstracted: the Ainos marry early, the men at about the age of 18, the women at 16; polygamy is permitted, but not much practiced; morality between the unmarried is not very strictly enforced, but children born through such relations are no bar to future marriage. 582

The marriage customs resemble those of the Japanese. The parents usually select wives or husbands for their children. A young man rarely courts his wife directly, but through a go-between. As soon as the matter is satisfactorily arranged by the latter, the young man sends a portion of saké to the parents of his intended bride. After some time the latter sends a gift of saké and an *inao*, or God-stick, to the bridegroom. This is a sign that the marriage is to take place on the next day. In the evening of that day the neighbors assemble at the house of the bridegroom's parents. The bride comes in company with her parents and the intermediary. They depart about midnight to re-assemble the next morning, and the feasting goes on for 2 or 3 days, according to the circumstances of the young couple, who from henceforth live in the house of the man's parents. 584

Not many children are born; usually 3 or 4, and more boys than girls. The children are suckled until 4 or 5 years of age. 163 583

Divorces are not common. A man can only send his wife back to her parents by obtaining their consent. 586

BURIAL CUSTOMS.

Burial usually takes place on the day of death or on the following day. The friends and relatives assemble, bringing with them food and saké, which are placed before the body and, after the burial, shared by all in common. The corpse is clothed and placed in a wooden coffin, 764

825 error to suppose that the Ainu regard the bear as a  in the same
776 sense as they do the God of Fire, for example, or any of their other
numerous deities. The bear is called *Kimui*; *Kamui-Kamui* is an Ainu
word having about the same meaning as the Japanese *Kami*, and per-
haps is derived from it. But the same word is used as an honorable
[576] appellation for foreign visitors, upon whom we can not possibly believe
they would confer the attributes of a deity.

The Ainu have good reason to respect the bear. It is a most valuable
animal, affording them food and clothing and a medicine, the bear-gall,
which is greatly prized. On the other hand, it can do them great injury,
as when it destructively enters their dwellings and kills their domestic
animals. Therefore it is natural that they should seek to propitiate
the bear, to confer upon him a title of great honor, and that they should
consider an atonement necessary for putting him to death. They place
the skull of the dead bear on the sacred hedge, the *nusha kamui*,
which is found on the east side of every house, where it is held sacred
[776] and honored as a representative of the gods under the name *Kamui*
marapto. The *nusha kamui*, god's fence, or sacred hedge, (Pl. CXII)
is where the various gods are worshiped, except the God of Fire and
the house-god, to which offerings are made at certain places within the
house. The bear feast is named *iomante*. This ceremony, as well as the
preliminary feeding and rearing of a young bear, has also the motive
of an atonement to the whole bear tribe for the killing of its brothers
and sisters.

231 At the end of winter a young bear is caught, placed in a cage (Pl.
796 CXIII), and reared in the village. At first it is suckled by the wife of
the captor, afterwards fed with fish. The bear festival usually takes
place in September or October, by which time the young bear has grown
so large and strong as to threaten to break the cage. The Ainu first
endeavor to exculpate themselves before the gods for what they are
about to undertake. Having rendered the bear every favor possible,
they can no longer keep him in captivity; therefore it is necessary to
kill him.

796 The man who gives the feast, assumes the expense thereof and in-
vites his relatives and friends. Such a festival is, considering the pov-
erty of the Ainu, very expensive, for enormous quantities of saké are
consumed. Hence it is considered a great honor to give a bear feast.
At the present time the bear feasts are becoming more and more in-
frequent. On the east coast, so far as I traveled (from Tomakomai to
Volcano Bay), no bear feast had been held for several years. The same
remark applies to the district around Mori, on Volcano Bay. I have
generally seen caged bears only on the road from Urap to Oshamambe.
In this region I found the Ainu least affected by culture. Here, in the
small village of Kunnai, I spent the day, which will be the subject
of the following description:

On the 10th of August of this year, about noon, I arrived at Kunnai,

could make out my surroundings clearly enough. There was an old man, perfectly naked, with a fine head, long white hair and beard, sitting on the ground among a mass of seaweeds, which he was disentangling and packing. Two young women and two young men, with bright, intelligent eyes and high cheek-bones, were helping him in his work. In their quiet, gentle way they all brought their hands forward, each rubbed the palms together, and, lifting the arms, slowly stroked their hair, and the men their beard with the backs of their hands, while the women rubbed the first finger under the nose from the left to the right.

This is their salutation, and it is most graceful. They seemed pleased to see me, and asked me to sit down. As there were neither chairs nor sofas, stools nor cushions, I squatted on the ground.

Most Ainu of Volcano Bay understand Japanese, and they also speak it, interpolating Ainu words when necessary, so I began a con-



AINU WOMAN SALUTING.

versation. My presence did not seem to disturb them or arouse their curiosity, and, beyond gazing at the mother-of-pearl buttons on my white coat, they did not appear to be struck by me. Evidently the buttons were much more interesting to them than the person who wore them. Now and then they uttered a few words, but whenever one spoke some of the company seemed to be angry, as at an impertinence or a breach of etiquette. Men and women wore large ear-rings or pieces of red or black cloth, which added a great deal to their picturesqueness; but the women were disfigured by a long moustache tattooed across the face from ear to ear. Rough drawings adorn the arms and hands of the women, and some of the younger females would undoubtedly be fine-looking if not disfigured by the tattoos, for they carry themselves well when walking, and possess comely features. Judging from appearances, I should think them very passionate.

Coming out of the hut I saw a scene which I shall never forget. Two naked boys, covered with horrible skin eruptions, had got hold of a large fish-bone, out of which they

1. AINU MODE OF TESTING COURAGE.

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same, several wooden bowls, about five inches in diameter and two deep, were passed round and emptied in no time. The more they drank, the wilder and more melancholy the song became. Only one at a time sang, and he would begin in a very low tone of voice and go up in a *crescendo*, gradually getting awfully excited; then all at once he would stop, as if the effort had been too great for him. His head drooped, and he seemed to sleep. Then, suddenly waking up, coming back to his full senses in a startling manner, he drained one of the bowls, which meantime had been refilled, and resumed the song. The three men were facing each other, and so absorbed were they in their music that, though I was not more than four feet away from them, they seemed to have forgotten me altogether.

I was so impressed with the strangeness of the song that I pulled out my pencil and paper to write down the air. As there was no light but the flicker of the fire, I turned the white leaf of my sketch-book toward it to see what I was writing. This caught the eye of one of the men. He woke up, startled from his musical dream, jumped to his feet, and made a dash for me, yelling some words which I did not understand, and holding over my head something that I could not distinguish at the moment owing to the dimness of the light. Standing thus he paused, evidently waiting for an answer to something he had said. It came from one of the other fellows, who pushed him so violently as to send him sprawling on the floor, while, what he held in his hand—a big, heavy, pointed knife—fell and stuck deep in the ground about an inch from my toes. A dispute arose among themselves, but among the Ainu everything ends up in a drink. The large wooden bowls were again refilled; grand bows were made to me, and they all stroked their hair and beard several times—a sign of great respect. I was then handed one of the bowls and made to swallow the contents. But, heavens! never have I felt any liquid work its way down so far. Had I swallowed fire it could not have been as bad; and, indeed, it was neither more nor less than liquid fire.

As the night was wearing fast, and the old fellows had got on well with their drink, the sing-song became rather too languid and monotonous; and I crept out of the hut as quietly as I had entered it, not without first giving the inmates something for their trouble. I had some difficulty in

123 destroyed. The evening came, and the little Japanese police-
 609 man brought the resigned and humbled Ainu to the inn. Their wives and relatives followed, and they all looked supremely mournful and sad. I sat, Japanese fashion, on the small verandah on the ground-floor, and the policeman placed the Ainu on a line in front of me, and then came to sit by my side. He then addressed them, partly in the Ainu language, partly in Japanese, and bestowed on them names which went well to the point. He scolded them harshly, and asked them why they had assaulted me.

123 One of them, as grave as a judge, with his eyes cast down,
 591 and in a half-broken voice, came forward and said, that if once
 [189] you have your likeness taken you have to give up your life
 [153] to it, and it brings illness to yourself, to your children, your parents, and your neighbours. Not only that, but as I had
 [131] taken many people together, famine was sure to fall on the country. "Then," he added—and he seemed positive of what he was talking about—"then there was a fish the stranger made"—the Ainu have no word for painting—"and had we
 [180] not destroyed his *makings* all the fish would have disappeared from the sea, and all the Ainu would have died of starvation"—which was a terrible contingency, as the Ainu live mainly by fishing. "We have not hurt the stranger," continued this hairy representative of Master Eustache de St. Pierre, "and now that all the Ainu and the fish he made are destroyed we are safe."

"You are mistaken," said I, when, by the aid of the policeman, I understood the meaning of this long harangue, and I produced the large sketch of the scene which I had repainted from memory. This certainly beat them. They could hardly believe their own eyes, and looked at each other as if some great calamity were approaching. I have no doubt that they considered me an evil spirit, and, as such, too powerful to be contended with. Discretion was their best part of valour, as
 123 they proved. One by one they approached the verandah, sat
 516 cross-legged in front of me, rubbed their hands together,
 516 stroked their hair and beard three times, and three times each
 609 put his head down to my feet, begging my pardon. The
 123 Ainu women and children who had assembled in the back
 609 yard, where the function took place, were crying and moaning.

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AN AINU FESTIVAL.

CHAPTER IV.

An Ainu Festival.

527 THE Ainu have few public performances, and no special time of the year is fixed for them. As it so happened, a festival—a "Iyomanrei"—took place while I was at Piratori.

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516 The performance was held in a large hut belonging to the heir apparent to the chieftainship of Piratori. I went to the hut and asked whether I could attend the performance. The host, in answer, came to meet me at the door, and, taking me by the hand, led me in. I was shown where to sit, on the southern side of the hut, the place of honour for strangers, and my host sat in front of me and saluted me in Ainu fashion.

[292] Benry and several old men were squatting on the floor, Benry in the middle, and he was again gorgeous in his regal clothes. Some of the others, who wore a crown like Benry's, were chiefs of the neighbouring villages, who had come up for the grand occasion.

One by one all the men present rose and came to stroke their hair and beard before me, and I returned the compliment as well as I could in Ainu fashion. The hut was gradually

getting filled, and each man that entered first saluted the landlord, then Benry, then myself, and ultimately the two guests between whom he sat. Women and children occupied the darker west end of the hut, and they took no active part in the function. Other chiefs came in, and Benry was surrounded by many of them and by elderly men.

The whole group of these chiefs, with their long white beards, lighted up by a brilliant ray of sunshine, which penetrated through the small east window, was extremely picturesque.

In its savagery it was almost grand, with a barbaric quasi-animal sense of power and irresponsibility. In truth, it was a wonderful sight to see all these hairy people assembled in this small place—men, yet not men like ourselves—men, and not brutes, yet still having curiously brutish traits athwart their humanity.

The performance was simple, but really fine in its simplicity. A fire burning in the centre of the hut, and filling the place with smoke, added, by its suggestive dimness, to the picturesqueness of the scene. It was strange that the only ray of sun which came in should fall on the most interesting group. Was it chance or design? Rembrandt himself would have delighted in painting that scene.

Benry looked every inch a king, and several of the younger men were busily engaged lighting his pipe and refilling it with tobacco. He puffed away at such a rate that no sooner was the pipe filled than it was smoked and handed over again to undergo the same process.

Two large casks of Japanese *sake* were brought in, and each man produced his wooden bowl.

The host came slowly forward, and planted an *Inao*—a willow wand with overhanging shavings—in one corner of the fireplace; then muttered a few words, which implied that the *sake* could now be poured out. A Japanese lacquer rice-box was filled with the intoxicating liquid, and no sooner had this been done than old Benry, forgetting his dignity, jumped up and made a rush for it, filled a large bowl, and retired to a corner to drink it. All the men present followed his example. Benry was never selfish when he had had enough for himself. He filled his bowl again and brought it to me, saying that

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273 I was a friend of the Ainu, and must join them in the drinking.

• [576]
[680] My attention was suddenly drawn to three old chiefs, who, half drunk, stood in front of the small east window. They dipped their moustache-lifters in their bowls, waving them towards the sun as a salutation to the "Chop Kamui," the "Great Sun." There was no religious character attached to this libation offered to the sun, no more than when we take off our hats passing a respected friend in the street. It is a mere sign of respect, not of worship. Besides, it must be clearly understood that no "offerings" of wine are ever made by the Ainu to the "Great Sun," and that the "libations" offered are invariably consumed by the offerer.

527 I managed to get several sketches of the assembly, and every moment I expected to get into trouble again; but this time they took it most kindly.

[573] The hut became very stuffy, owing to the large number of persons and the smoke. There were nearly two hundred people in it, packed closely together, and there was nothing in the show to interest one—certainly not the disgusting sight of this drunkenness, which, moreover, became monotonous as well as disgusting.

[576] I stroked my hair and beard—the latter only figuratively—in sign of salute, to the host, Henry, and the other drowsy chiefs, and, carefully avoiding pushing or treading on any member of the unsteady crowd, I made my exit.

Oh, what a treat it was to breathe fresh air again!

[592] Outside the hut the pretty *menokos* (girls) of Piratori were having a lot of fun all to themselves. They were all dressed in long yellowish gowns, with rough white and red ornamentations on a patch of blue cloth, on their backs; and each girl took a very active part in a game, or a kind of savage dance, called Tapkara. They all ranged themselves in a circle, and a child or two was sometimes placed in the centre. The game consisted in collectively hopping an indefinite number of times, calling out either the name, or the accompanying sound, of some of their everyday occupations, and clapping the hands so as to keep time. For instance, one sound was "Ouye, ouye" ("Fire, fire"), and they all blew as when making a fire, and hopped till they were nearly senseless.

527 time of it, but the other unfortunate jockeys were pulled off the ponies by the angry mob, and knocked about as worthless beings.

527 The evening came, and with the dying sun ended that memorable day of festivities. I retired. Distant sounds of the *menokos*, still enjoying themselves, came to me with the wind, but fainter and fainter they grew as it was getting darker.

"Pirrero! Pirrero! Pirrero!" I heard again, till at last the sounds faded away into a mere murmur, and I fell asleep.

The morning that I left Piratori, old Benry put on his regal clothes and crown to bid me good-bye.

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PIRATORI WOMAN IN COSTUME.

"Nishpa, Popka-no-okkayan" ("Sir, may you be preserved warm"), said the old chief, in the Ainu fashion of bidding farewell; "I have a pain in my chest, owing to your leaving Piratori, but I shall accompany you part of the way."

I dissuaded the old chief from doing that, but he went on, with his plaintive voice: "Nishpa, you must tell in your country that Piratori is a nice place, and all the Ainu are good people. Not like the Shamo" (Japanese; also half-breeds), "for they are bad. You must return soon," he added, and, taking my hand, he pressed it to his hairy chest. He then took me to his hut again, and there renewed his farewells, and I renewed mine to

him, to his *great* wife, and to his house, for it is part of the Ainu etiquette to bid good-bye to the house of a friend as well as to the owner of it.

The return journey to Saru Mombets was accomplished without much difficulty.

a compass from a Japanese fisherman, and on this occasion it [12] was extremely useful to me.

By the soft, or rather shrill, music of a full orchestra of mosquitoes I fell asleep. It was poetic, but not comfortable. Strange noises woke me several times during the night. My ponies also were very restless, and repeatedly tried to get loose while I was lying down on the two saddles to which they were fastened.

It was some time after sunrise when I woke up, and with stiff bones set off again. A heavy dew had fallen during the night, and had made my clothes very damp. The reeds and grass also were saturated with water, and riding through them caused a continuous shower to fall over me, giving me an uncomfortable and by no means efficient kind of shower bath.

I rode in a westerly direction till about two or three in the afternoon, when suddenly the jungle came to an end. Not only that, but a short distance away I saw some Ainu huts. I soon reached them, dismounted, and tied my ponies to a tree. I went to the first hut, and previous to going in I called out: "Hem, hem, hem, hem!" which in the Ainu country is the polite preliminary when a stranger wishes to enter a hut. The usual practice of *knocking* at the door is dispensed with, for Ainu doorways have no doors. 576 • [342]

"Hem, hem, hem, hem, hem!" called I again much louder, but I heard no answer; so I lifted the mat and entered the hut. It was empty. No one was there. I came out again, and went into the next hut, into another, and yet another; but nobody was to be found. I supposed that they were all out fishing. From the roof in each hut was hanging some dried and half-dried salmon. I could not resist the temptation after nearly thirty-four hours of involuntary fasting; and I stole—I mean "conveyed," or helped myself to the largest fish. I was greedily eating it—and how good it was!—when I thought I heard a groan inside the hut. I listened, and I distinctly heard some one sniffing in a corner of the dark dwelling. Had I been caught stealing? The crime I had committed would be called felony at home, but in the Ainu country it has not nearly so bad a name as that. However, felony or not, I dropped the fish, or rather what remained of it, and made for the corner whence the noise came. As I got closer I discerned

○○○ Birvase, a small village of seaweed gatherers, is reached, and the next two and a half miles are along a sandy beach as far as Hammanaka. A short bridge joins this place to the island of Kiritap, which is separated from the mainland by a channel only a few feet wide. Towards the evening the fog lifted, and I caught a glimpse of the village.

The ponies of the Kiritap village had just been let loose, and were running over the small wooden bridge with great clamour. The houses, which number about a hundred and twenty, are all poor and dirty. There is a main street, and most of the houses are on each side of it. The people are fishermen, seaweed gatherers, and small traders; for Hammanaka Bay, being a good anchorage for junks and small craft under the lee of Kiritap Island, is a place of some importance for its export trade of seaweeds, fish-oil, and herring guano; these products being sent down to Hakodate.

199 If a few Ainu have adopted the Japanese language, clothes, and customs, there are also many Japanese who have taken up the Ainu language and ways. I noticed this more particularly in this district, where the Ainu have almost entirely disappeared. The older Japanese and many of the younger folks have Ainu features; and not only have they adopted a great number of Ainu words, but when talking Japanese they speak it with the peculiar intonation and accent pertaining to the Ainu. This is not surprising, nor yet peculiar to the Japanese or the Chinese; for we find that almost all English residents in Chinese ports adopt many of the words of our pig-tailed brothers, and have thus formed a kind of local English, besides the "pidgeon-English"—a corruption of "business English"—which almost constitutes a language of its own.

194 The Ainu, like the Scotch or the French, give a rolling sound to the "r." Thus, for instance, if I had written the word "Riruran" as it is pronounced I should have spelt it "Rrurruran." Then the Ainu almost sing their words—the women in a falsetto voice, ending in a singularly mournful kind of cadenza. On his return from a journey, a hunt, or a fishing expedition, the Ainu squats down cross-legged in his hut, and, after the conventional introductory ceremony of rubbing the palms of his hands together and then repeatedly stroking his hair and beard, proceeds to relate the adventures

291 soon be destroyed by the sharp stones and ice—by slipping over them a pair of thick rope sandals, which protect the sides, the back, the toes, and sole of the foot. If to this

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1
BOOTS TO BE SOAKED
IN WATER SO AS TO
TAKE SHAPE OF
FOOT, AND TO BE
KEPT UP WITH A
STRING.



2
DEER-SKIN SHOE.

inventory be added a head-gear consisting of a band wound round the head, and an occasional apron, the whole of the Ainu

wardrobe is catalogued. This band, which is worn principally by women, is untied and removed when saluting

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or meeting a man, whether on the road or in the woods. A

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Japanese towel often takes the place of the native manufacture. I am inclined to think



THE TARMA OR HEAD-BAND.

that this custom of covering the head has been acquired from the Japanese, as none of the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi—the only pure ones remaining—wore anything in the shape of band or kerchief, while it is extremely common with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and Piratori to wear these unbecoming towels. At Piratori the Ainu women give a more artistic character to this ugly headgear by embroidering it in front and wearing it like a tiara. An apron is occasionally worn by Ainu, but this too, in my opinion, has been borrowed from the Japanese. Ainu clothes often get undone, owing to their shape, and therefore Ainu men sometimes wear these aprons, but rather because they are made to wear them than from native modesty or inclination to be commonly decent. I have seen Ainu on the north-east coast of Yezo and on Lake Kutcharo wear coarse hats of matted rushes. When laid flat, these hats have a diameter of about thirty inches; but when worn, they are folded in two, and kept in this position by a string tied under the chin and passed through the hat. They are used principally in winter as a protection against the snow. The Ainu care more to adorn

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than to clothe themselves. A few glass beads, a metal earring, a silver coin, or anything that shines, can make a man or a woman as happy as a king. Intoxicants come first of all things, but after them there is nothing in this world that Ainu



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AINU SALUTATION.

CHAPTER XXV.

Ainu Music, Poetry, and Dancing.

THE music of each nation has certain characteristics of its own ; and though according to European ideas the music of what are called barbarous peoples may sound in some sense excruciating, it always has a certain occult charm, more especially to one who is able to forget his former training, and teach himself to see, hear, and think in the same way as the natives he is studying.

Undoubtedly we Westerns have brought music to a pitch of refinement that no savage nation has even attempted to reach ; but in my opinion we do savages injustice when we call their music "unmitigated discord." Barbarians like the Ainu do not indicate their rhythmical effects and modulations by means of a musical notation ; and harmony is of course very defective with them, from our point of view. On the other hand, the feeling and passion with which they chant their songs make them go straight to the heart, if as a melody they are not always pleasing to the cultivated Western ear.

An Ainu seldom sings for the mere pleasure of art as art, and it is only when full of joy or "crazed with care" that he gives expression to his feelings in music. Then he pours out

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533 his whole soul in that which to him is melody beyond the
150 power of words to compass.

576 After a hunt, a fishing expedition, a journey, or a misfortune, the Ainu enters his hut and seats himself cross-legged on the ground. He then holds out both hands with the palms together, and rubs them backwards and forwards three or four times; after this he raises them, palms upwards, to a level with his head, gracefully lowers them to his knees, and then, raising them again, strokes his hair and beard. Again he lowers his hands twice, thrice, or even more times, according to the amount of respect to which the person saluted is entitled, the latter following in every smallest detail the motions of his saluting friend. When this complicated salutation has been performed separately before each male member of the household, the new arrival relates the tale of his good- or ill-luck; and if the events be of an unusual character the story is chanted in a sort of sing-song which makes each note of joy or lamentation vibrate in the heart of the listener. It is only in such circumstances of stress of feeling that I ever heard the Ainu sing, though sometimes women and young folks when alone, fishing, riding, or travelling, sing out bits of their past lives as they remember this scene or that event.

533 Ainu music is almost entirely vocal, and their singing has more the character of the *recitative* than of the *aria* proper. Their songs are always for *solo*; and during my stay among the hairy people I never heard a concerted piece, nor even an air or a single voice with a chorus for a number of voices; neither did I hear any songs performed by men and women together, but invariably by men to other men, and by women to other women. It seems to me that the reason why they
[576] have no choruses is their strict etiquette, which forbids them to interrupt a speaker till he has finished his narrative; and as their songs are only narratives which the musical sing-song makes more impressive, it seems more than probable that the reason I have given is the right one. If a singer during his narrative stops, and is silent for a minute or two, another takes up the "lost chord" in exactly the same intonation of voice, asking a question or singing words of comfort, anger, or scorn, as the case may be; but no Ainu ever joins in the song before the person singing has stopped.

that, as all things spring from germs, so these ignorant superstitions of the Ainu may be in a manner called their religion, as the germ of a more developed system—the cotyledonous state of what might grow into a more advanced spirituality. Like the ancient Greeks and Romans, the Ainu wave their moustache-lifters, during their libations, towards the sun, the fire, and the person who has paid for the wine, before they address themselves to the large wooden bowls wherein lies their happiness; but this also is not a religious ceremony, and no religious feeling whatever is connected with it. It is a mere *toast*—part of their etiquette—which exactly corresponds to the German "*Prosit*," or to our English "Your good health." The Ainu of course have no special high-days, no Sundays, no religious services, no prayers, no priests, no sacrificial priests, no churches, and no bells; but they can "swear"; and as the Neapolitans invoke their saints, so they occasionally call the sun, the moon, the fire, and everything else, all sorts of bad names if things do not go as they ought. This "swearing" has been defined as *Ainu praying* by one authority on the Ainu religion; moreover, the same authority calls the Ainu a "distinctly religious people," and an "exceedingly religious race!" To anyone who visits a country and regards all that he finds from one point of view only, it is not difficult to interpret words and things in accordance with the preconceived idea; but however high the principles sought to be established, I do not consider a man justified in attributing to definite facts an importance and significance to which they have no claim. I have no doubt that a native who had associated with or been in the employment of a Christian would make statements in accordance with his master's belief as it had been taught him; but it is incorrect to offer these "borrowed statements" as the religious beliefs of a whole nation.

I shall not discuss this question at greater length; but for the sake of readers who are interested in the subject it may be well to make two or three more statements before closing this chapter. The Ainu do not know of a heaven and hell; but in one of the latest publications on the aborigines of Japan we are told that they do; and, moreover, that they are fully aware of the resurrection of the body in the other world!

Even assuming, for the moment, that the Ainu are theists, or



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2.



3.



4.

Figs. 1 and 2. Man making ritual salutation (*mugemi*).

Figs. 3 and 4. Woman performs ritual salutation (*rainik*).

Note *akashi* wears ceremonial headband and tunic.

PLATE XV. RITUAL SALUTATION.

[p. 30, (9)]

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THE INAU

when the sacred beer was brewed. Here the sole religious observance permitted to women was performed — the offering of food and libations. These are sprinkled and spread on the ground near the chaff-thrown *nusa*, though the spot selected may vary in different houses or villages. In some places the regular number of four *inau* offered to each *kamui* is departed from, each woman being given a backward-shaven *inau* to insert in the soil when making her offering.

These *inau* serve to remind the ancestral spirits, whether recent or remote, that they are not neglected by their descendants. Like those set up at the fences, they are never removed. It must not be supposed, however, that they are always in a condition 'to beautify the land and gratify the *kamui*'. Even when they were regularly renewed the weather soon played havoc with their elegance, and nowadays most of them are in a ruinous state. But to pass between the fences and the sacred window was formerly taboo to those not engaged in the performance of ceremonies, and to do so is still regarded as an affront to the householder.

Inau fences are not only erected outside the sacred window. Other *kamui* have such fences dedicated to them at certain locations, notably Masara-koro Kamui, who protects fishing boats, above the high-water mark, Tomari-koro Kamui at harbours, and Chiwash-koro Kamui at river mouths. *Nusa* and single *inau* are offered to oak and other trees, and also to places in the mountains where *kamui* are believed to reside.¹

¹ There were many more places than those mentioned by Munro where single *inau* or groups of *inau* were erected and rites were performed. Places associated with each family were the skinning place, the bone dump, the place for discarding animal skins, the place for preparing fish, and the source of drinking water. There were also places where *inau* were erected communally. One of these for the local group was *petorum nusa*, near the salmon spawning beds, and another was the *nusa-san* at the mountain hut which was the headquarters of a group of hunters.—H.W.

EFFIGIES

guard attached to represent a heart. At Pihoro, I was told, the heart of this *kamui* is taken from the hearth.

Chisei-koro Kamui receives every consideration as the representative of Shiramba Kamui; he is formally saluted by every male visitor who enters the house, and on festal occasions is worshipped with prayer and libations oftener than are the *kamui* outside. He is also supplicated in time of trouble, but always after Kamui Fuchi, and less than Nusa-koro Kamui whose soul *nusa* also permits direct appeal to Shiramba Kamui. He is, it seems, chiefly responsible for the house and its contents, which are considered to be gifts from Shiramba Kamui, and is what he is described as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi on his first introduction, the House-head-protecting Personal Kamui (Kenru-sopa-kopunkine-kunui). At Nibutani he is revered as a *pase kamui*.

Shutu Inau Kamui

As noted previously the *shutu inau* have been described as winged *inau*, but in order to make the distinction clear the word *shutu* has been retained for the *shutu inau kamui*. The absence of wings on Chisei-koro Kamui is all that distinguishes him from hand-made *kamui* of winged *inau* form. These *kamui* differ from the less potent winged *inau* chiefly in that they wear a garment of curled shavings on their shoulders. *Inau* as such have only one tassel, if any; the double tassel is what distinguishes the winged *inau kamui* from them. These *kamui* are mostly male, and as a rule are armed with a spear or sword of inugwort. Conserving *ramat* obtained from the important *kamui*, and being armed, these *kamui* are more powerful than *inau*, and able to defeat the evil spirits which the Ainu regard as responsible for most of their misfortunes. Though representing to some extent the important *kamui* they are believed to act independently, and therefore arouse feelings of awe which increase in proportion to belief in their powers.

There is a rite to thank all *kamui* for their help and send them home when their presence is no longer needed—a form of honourable leave-taking. This will be called 'ritual dismissal'. The most reverent of all dismissals is that performed at the ceremonial killing of the sacred bear, and is called *kamui iqmande*. That for Chisei-koro Kamui and most other *kamui*, including those which have only a temporary function, is called rising up to the sky (*hopun-ire*), and is a reward for defeating the evil spirits. First there should be

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

The ritual salutation (*ongami*) was mentioned above, and as it occurs in all ceremonies it should be described. The arms are slightly extended in front, the hands are opposed and rubbed together, mostly backwards and forwards but with a slight sideways motion. They are then separated, with palms upward but at a slight angle. The head is more or less bowed according to the degree of respect implied, and the hands are raised to the brow. They are then brought down with a stroking of the beard or a similar motion. When great respect is to be shown, this may be accompanied by a bowing movement and a backward step. The latter is seen only in the retiring salutation, but a salutation is always made when approaching *kamui*, even if it be only bowing and raising the hands.

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the bulb of a lily (*Lilium glehni*). Tuberous roots such as *Muk* and *Mukehashi* (*Codonopsis lanceolata* and *Adenophora verticillata*) were cooked for such an occasion, also chestnuts and water caltrop (Ainu, *Pekambe* or *Peccan*, thing). A wild garlic (*Pukusa*) was used for flavouring as well as medicinally or magically. Various fruits in season, wild grapes, raspberries (*Hat* and *Emauri*), walnuts and others might be used, the two first but rarely.

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Of green vegetables from the wilds there is some variety. They were either cooked fresh or dried and kept till required. A skunk cabbage (*Shikerebe-kina*) was plentiful, also the *Petasites Japonicus* (*Koroko-ni*), the young stems and leaves of which were a great resource, either fresh, dried or pickled. This plant sometimes attains a height of about five feet. *Ukuru-kina* (*Hosta Caerulea*) is another favourite vegetable, the stalks of which are pleasant to the taste. —N.G.M.

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

to neighbours and friends, but acquaintances, even if uninvited, are at liberty to partake of the feast, and even a stranger may be admitted if he asks permission and his credentials are in order. Before the arrival of the guests protective shavings have been dipped in the sacred beer and the householder (wearing an embroidered robe) and his wife have seated themselves at the places (10) shown on the plan (text fig. 3). Behind the householder are the sacred treasures, and in the north-east corner stands Chisei-koro Kamui which is, or rather was, made only before ceremonies for which the sacred beer had been brewed.

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Husband and wife sit on a sacred mat, and another is laid at the top of the hearth (text fig. 3 at (7)), on which is placed a tray with four large cups (*tuki*) of lacquer ware on ring-like saucers (*tukinum*). These cups were used formerly only for the sacred beer. A libation wand (*ikubashui*) is placed on the rim of each cup. Behind the tray (*otchiki*) is the large lacquered vessel (*sai-shintoko*) ((6) in text fig. 3) containing the sacred beer. Nearer the sacred window is another tray with four cups (5). In the south-east corner often stand two of the large tubs in which the beer was brewed (1). All the food which is to be partaken of is placed on or close to the lower end of the hearth, to acquire merit from being offered to Kamui Fuchi.

All the male guests make a sound of clearing the throat before entering. They walk slowly and quietly towards the head of the hearth, but not close to it, keeping on the side opposite the householder, stooping the while with palms about level with the knees. To walk briskly would be a breach of decorum calling for a sharp reprimand. Ordinary etiquette forbade an Ainu, whether friend or stranger, to approach a householder at home in anything but a slow and quiet manner, and even today, when manners are less strictly observed, it would be highly improper to enter erect and hastily on a sacred occasion. To be humbly reverent (*oripak*) before the assembled gods and their worshippers is a sign of good breeding.

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On reaching a spot about level with the head of the hearth, but at a slight distance from it, the visitor turns for an instant towards the south-eastern corner (*so-kesh*), to which he performs a partial salutation by slightly raising his arms once or twice. This is said to be an acknowledgment of the presence of the mischievous spirit of tipsy behaviour, but may be a survival of a ritual salutation to the spirit of the sacred beer. A more reverent salutation is next

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THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

342 made to Chisei-koro Kamui in his sacred corner. The visitor then
 576 sits down on the floor in line with the other guests, at (2) as shown
 527 on the plan in text fig. 3, and salutes Kamui Fuchi most elaborately.
 He then makes a slighter salutation to the beer in the vessel and
 then to the householder. All the guests are watching, and as soon
 as the visitor salutes the householder they do the same.

342 The male relatives sit at (3) indicated on the plan, the female
 527 relatives and elderly women friends at (12), younger women with
 [554] children at (13).

When a sufficient number of guests has arrived, the service to
 the gods begins. First there is a curious ceremony of ladling the
 beer. The housewife goes to the head of the hearth, takes some of
 527 the beer in a ladle (*pishaku*) and pours it three times from left to
 273 right round the inner edge of the vessel (*shintoko*). Then, taking
 some of the beer from the bottom and some from the top, she fills
 a lacquered jug (*etunup*), and pours it back into the vessel, again
 going round the inner edge three times. The jug is then again filled
 partly from the bottom and partly from the top, and from the jug
 the beer is poured into the cups. This may be done because the
 beer tends to deposit lees, but I have been told that it is to insure
 against poisoning, e.g. with powdered aconite root. Ceremonial
 pouring into the cups is called *is-mare*.

342 During or after this proceeding the householder calls two trusty
 527 elders to perform the ritual salutation with libations and prayers
 782 to Chisei-koro Kamui in his corner and Nusa-koro Kamui outside.
 The elders are not called by name but as the father of so-and-so,
 naming an elder son if living, otherwise a daughter, or if childless
 as the husband of so-and-so. Visiting elders wear ceremonial dress
 and headband (*Sapa-un-be*).¹ When chosen to officiate, an elder is
 conducted to his place by a male relative of the householder, who
 takes the left hand of the elder in his right. It is noteworthy that
 [411] whereas a ceremonial sword must be worn by the householder, and
 by an elder officiating at the sacred fence, it is not worn by the
 elder ministering to Chisei-koro Kamui. It is always worn when
 offering or praying to the ancestors in the ceremony of Falling
 Tears, which is never neglected when a modicum of the ancient

[301] ¹ *Sapa-un-be*, 'thing on the head', is a band or circlet made of several strands
 [789] of twisted *inaw* shavings sewn to a fillet of cloth, and usually having in front a
 carved effigy of a theriomorphic deity, bear or other. This band protects the
 elder against evil spirits. Women also are supposed to wear a kind of tiara
 (*chipanup*), but commonly have a black scarf tied round the head.—N.G.M.



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Fig. 1. First action.

Fig. 2. Last action.

PLATE XXV. WOMEN DOING U'MU'SI (MUTUAL CONDOLENCE).

[p. 78, (I)]

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Kamui Moire Mat. He takes the lees in his hand and throws some at the foot of the *inau* fence, some to the north of it and some to the south. The Ekashi now returns to the head of the hearth, coming by the north wall as he went out. He replaces the cup on the tray, makes salutation to Kamui Fuchi and tells her that he has obeyed her behest, and then removes his sword and retires to his place.

While this has been going on the animal heads regarded as spirit protectors have been put on trays and placed near the top of the hearth. The householder gives each two or three drops of lees from the bottom of his cup. It is not merely those which guarded the beer during fermentation that are entitled to this treat, but all others that may be in the house. This libation from Kamui Fuchi's cup is accompanied by a short statement that it is for her, so will she please continue to guard the treasures and other property against evil.

The householder also gives a few drops of beer to the lower end of the hearth, with a brief address to Uari Kamui, and performs the same rite for the Apa-san Kamui. After the appointed elders have performed the main services any guest who chooses may give a libation either to Chisei-koro Kamui or to one of the *kamui* at the *inau* fence. Such spontaneous worship should be short and unostentatious, and should be performed before the special service for the dead. Up to that time the utmost decorum prevails—or ought to. Laughter and jocular remarks are bad form, and I am told that until the spirits of the dead ancestors are properly served the proceedings are serious, even solemn.

In a sense every service to the *kamui* (*Kamui Nomi*) was a service to 'All Souls', and levity would be unseemly while the revered and potent spirits of the Ancestral Host, and of the world around, were awaiting their meed of oblation and praise. Irreverence would slight the *kamui* and invite punishment.

• [576] We have seen that the male guests steal into the room in a slow and diffident manner; the women steal in still more quietly and humbly, and take their places shown on the plan. They do not [562] drink their small allowance of beer from cups which have been used in service to the *kamui*, and, with the exception of the Falling Tears ceremony, take no part in religious observance. They should [292] keep silent till the ceremony ends and the festivities begin. They [789] show reverence (*oripak*) by wearing the headdress or a black scarf, and should never attend worship of the *kamui* unless wearing the

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

776 at the fence of the plenteous *inau*, but his *inau* is set up at the soul
 782 *nusa* or at that of Hash-*inau-uk* Kamui.

778 Hai-o-pira Kamui, the sword of the sword-fish, is also given
 184 libation by many Ainu in this district. In the north an *inau* is set
 up for him, but here he gets only thanks and beer.

Two more local spirits complete this list, though others are recognized and given the same consideration in neighbouring villages. These are Mopet-un Kamui, which is the name of a place, and Chikap-ohi-un Kamui, the name of a spot where a fabulous bird called *Furi* lived. This is supposed to have been a monstrous kind of eagle, elsewhere regarded as a man-eater, but here as friendly and helpful. In prayer these spirits are all called *Kamui Ekashi*, or divine ancestor; this may be evidence of ancestor-worship or merely of a wish to flatter them.

796 We now come to an important rite, the ritual salutation (*pase*
 776 *ongami*) of Metot-ush Kamui, whose *ramat* is incarnated in the
 778 bear. It must be noted that the ritual dismissal of the bear, the
 well-known Bear Ceremony, is the most impressive of all Ainu
 576 ceremonies.¹ In the plenteous *inau* fence are four large ancestral
 782 *inau* specially devoted to this *kamui*, and two *inau* with bodies and
 twisted shavings. All the *inau* at this fence are slightly higher than
 those at the soul *nusa* and that of Hash-*inau-uk* Kamui, and those
 again slightly higher than those of *Nusa-koro* Kamui. The reason
 for this is not clear; it does not indicate any intrinsic superiority
 of the *kamui* concerned, but the importance of the occasion, the
 ritual salutation.

For this rite the cup is filled to overflowing and the winged libation wand bearing the ancestral mark (*ekashi itokpa*) of the host is alone employed. The rite is performed publicly (*use ongami*) but with deep emotion, and forms the prelude to rites of a more secret character. I have been unable to get full information about these, but have been reliably told that at least four *kamui* are worshipped in secret at the second important salutation (*pase ongami*). These are Metot-ush Kamui again (but this time esoterically), the Eagle-owl, the 'Good Fox', and the Divine Wife, Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat (Woman above the clouds).

The Ainu, in this district at least, consider the special knowledge

[114] ¹ Unfortunately, Munro's account of this ceremony has never been received, but he sent a film which was shown at the Royal Anthropological Institute on January 10th, 1933. (See Appendix II).—B.Z.S.

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

and performance of each rite as esoteric. Just as no man is permitted to have knowledge of a woman's secret girdle, so no woman is permitted to pry into the awe-inspiring secrets of religion, that of the Divine Wife being the most secret. Its performance is carried out under the name of Metot-ush Kamui, Ritual Salutation. Several elders told me that the worship of Metot-ush Kamui is ostensibly of that deity alone, but that anyone might include a *kamui* of his own choosing. Those who took part in a particular worship could claim mutual hospitality. This led me to make further inquiries, and I found that those who worship a particular *kamui* with this ritual claim descent from a common ancestor.¹ The members of the cult address each other in terms of relationship rather than those of formal politeness. The fact that the place-name of a local *kamui* is more prominent than its own name, always coming first in prayer, may indicate a common local source of lineage. Nevertheless, the rite does not provide conclusive evidence of blood-relationship, for an Ainu of good repute may be adopted by any group which possesses a secret ritual. It should be noted that in the worship of Metot-ush Kamui the winged libation wand is marked by the ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*). No stranger may use the ancestral badge but it may be given to an heir adopted by a childless man. The sign and rite are complementary, together constituting proof of blood relationship in Ainu eyes and justifying the warm mutual sentiment of the group. However, the winged libation wand is not used for the second secret ritual salutation of the *kamui*. After the libations and prayers to Metot-ush Kamui it is returned with the half-emptied cup through the sacred window. For the secret rites an ordinary libation wand is used, as it is for most *kamui*. Formerly the elder officiating at the ritual salutation stood with bare feet on the frozen ground or snow. This ceremony cannot be performed without the sacred beer, and the government probably tolerates the brewing of a small quantity.

While all these rites are being performed outside the house, only moderate drinking is allowed inside lest there should be a breach of decorum before the ceremony of Falling Tears. The etiquette of drinking (*iomare*) which is still strictly observed, is as follows. The

¹ *Pase ongami shine ekashi shinrit uho-hovo* may be translated as: 'In the ritual salutation all have one *ekashi* in common with the ancestors', and *Kamui nomi epeka u-iri Kuru* as 'On account of this *Kamui nomi* ceremony persons are of the same family'. Similar expressions are used in connection with the women's secret girdles.—N.G.M.

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THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

- 796 host holds out the cup to be filled, usually by his wife. He does not
782 drink it, but raises it in salutation and passes it across to his *vis-d-*
273 *vis* in the double row of male guests. The latter receives it, raises
● 576 it in salutation, drinks from it and hands it to the man sitting next
the host. He has it filled and follows the host's example. Thus the
cup passes in zigzag fashion down the line. Two cups are used if
the line is long. When one row has been served the other is served
in the same way.

796 THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

769 kind of decoration. He waits till the women are ready with the
782 other trays and then a small procession moves to the entrance. First goes the housewife carrying a vessel with a spout, filled with beer drawn from one of the tubs. She is followed by her mother-in-law, her mother, or an aunt, with a tray of 'moist' and 'dry' lees and tobacco. Then come female relatives with the viands already mentioned, and a young woman with an ordinary and a sacred mat, and lastly the householder. All move very slowly, with bodies bent.

• [576] On reaching the doorway each woman makes a salutation by slightly swinging the tray which she holds with both hands, first to the left then to the right and then upwards, while still stooping. [776] She thus salutes the guardians of the doorway in the proper order. [778] We have already seen that before the ceremony two beer-straining winged *inau* had been set up for them and left there. This salutation seems another indication that the spirits of the doorway are linked with the ancestral cult. The procession moves slowly by the north side of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*. Here elders of high repute are known to have been buried, and the site, or rather one a few feet to the north-west of it, is considered most appropriate for the ceremony. The young woman spreads an ordinary mat and lays the sacred one upon it. The other women place their trays on the mat, leaving a space on the north for the householder. He sits down; his wife kneels beside him and the other women kneel in order. The householder offers prayers and leads the service, women not being allowed to address the *kamui*. No other man may approach the spot, and it may be regarded as a special service by the women. Sometimes many of them perform it in succession. The householder performs the ritual salutation, and the women perform their own reverent salutation (*raimik*). The householder then plants the four backward-shaven *inau* in a row from north to south. He gives them some drops of beer as a libation and then makes his first prayer to the ancestors, holding the cup with the libation wand pointing towards the *inau* and stroking it with his right hand. The prayer is long and of the usual type. He asks the ancestors for welfare in the new house, and that they will give and watch over many healthy children. He tells them that he is offering beer, tobacco, cakes, lees, etc., and prays that his halting and imperfect speech may be rendered more fitting by the libation wand as messenger of Iresu Kamui. Before the prayer is quite finished he pauses to give a few more drops of beer to the *inau*. After the

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prayer he drops a little on his headband and sword. He then drinks a sip and passes the cup to his wife. From a cup of heaped up lees moistened with beer he places a little on the 'mouth' of each *inau*, using the libation wand. In a short prayer he tells the spirits what he has done, after which he deposits tiny portions of the offerings on the ground near the *inau*. Lastly he makes a queer little speech, ostensibly to the ancestors, but generally regarded as intended for any evil spirits who might intrude. Before making the speech he takes some dry lees in his hand, and while and after speaking sprinkles them about. All the elders whom I questioned explained the practice by saying that it both deceives and placates envious spirits.

We saw that the householder, after taking a sip of beer, hands the cup to his wife. She swings it slightly upward, draws her right hand across her lip in salutation, and gives drops of beer to the four *inau* and the ground at their feet. She again swings the cup, salutes in the same way, takes a sip and hands the cup to the next woman. She and the other near female relatives do the same and the cup is returned to the householder, who may take another sip. He gives the cup to his wife and returns to the hearth. There a fresh cup is brought to him and he takes a couple of mouthfuls. He then makes a salutation, tells Kamui Fuchi that he has obeyed her command, takes one of the two remaining backward-shaven *inau* from the hearth and puts it in the fire. At this all the men make the ritual salutation. The last *inau* remains till the end of the festivities which follow the ceremony.

Meanwhile the women at the *nusa* continue the offerings to the ancestral spirits. When the householder leaves, his wife takes his place. When she receives the cup from him she may take another sip, but pours the rest of the contents on the ground. Now the cup is filled afresh for each woman. Ainu women drink little, and on occasions such as this each one takes a sip and pours the rest into a small receptacle (*shintoko-po*) for her husband to drink later on.

The housewife offers food and tobacco to the ancestral spirits, placing them on the ground near the *inau*, and afterwards sprinkles dry lees. There is no prayer, but a woman may call the name of a matrilineal ancestress should she choose to do so. A few near relatives of the housewife, perhaps four or five, take her place in turn and perform the same rite. Those who are less closely related

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moderator during the revelry. He is therefore selected from among the most respected elders in the village. A sword is brought to him and he is led by the hand to his place. He salutes Kamui Fuchi, and the householder salutes him, making a long speech of welcome and thanks for taking care of the sacred beer, here called Tonoto Kamui. During this speech they both rub their hands to and fro, occasionally raising them slightly, and afterwards giving the full ritual salutation. The controller (as we may call him) then salutes Kamui Fuchi and prays to her at length for protection of the new house and help to its inmates. He then addresses the householder, also at length, thanking him for his hospitality in the new house, and expressing his best wishes and his confidence in the solicitous guardianship of Iresu Kamui. After this both salute respectfully.

The householder then takes the controller's hand and leads him to the beer-container under the sacred window. After mutual salutation he again takes him by the hand and leads him to his seat behind the container where, with his back to the wall, he faces the room. Before sitting down he salutes Chisei-koro Kamui. The householder sits facing him and asks a young male relative to escort the various elders to their new positions in a double row along the east wall, one row facing the other (text fig. 5(2) and Pl. XVI, fig. 2). There are special titles for those sitting near the controller and host, but as they merely indicate position they can be omitted. Each guest salutes Chisei-koro Kamui before sitting down. The advantage of this arrangement is that it leaves room for dancing. If male guests are very numerous extra rows may be arranged, but the main rows along the wall constitute the proper wassailing party (*Shi-iku u-eshopki*). When all are reseated the real drinking begins, with excessive indulgence on the part of most. The householder, whose proper title here is liquor-bestowing person (*sake sange guru*), takes an empty cup, raises it and rubs it, all present making salutation with their hands. This is the signal for the housewife to fill the cup, which the householder hands to the controller. The latter throws some drops of beer towards Chisei-koro Kamui with his libation wand, lays it on the rim of the cup pointing towards Chisei-koro Kamui, and says a prayer of the usual type requesting blessing and protection. Then he gives some drops to his sword and headband, addressing a short prayer to each, in which he affects to be ignorant of the proper manner of

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No. 4 is the mother's father, or her brother. Nos. 5 and 6 are the mother's sisters, or failing them a close friend of the deceased. It will be seen that the privileged positions are occupied chiefly by the father's kin when a son dies, but five out of six of them by the mother's kin when a daughter dies.

Guests usually weep while waiting to be invited into the house, and women outside and inside chant the dirge (*o-yo-yo-pota*). Text fig. 7 B shows the order of visiting mourners. They come in groups from different villages, each group selecting a representative, usually a chief. The men proceed, as if bowed down with woe, to the space between the hearth and the sacred window and their representative is led by a male relative of the deceased to the spot marked (a). At other gatherings the conductor takes the guest's left hand in his right; here he takes the right hand in his left. Hands may be rubbed a little but are raised only once or twice and reversed, that is to say with palms down and wrists drooping.

In performing the act of reverential or mutual condolence (*umusa*), also called sympathetic embrace (*umura-ipa*) on this occasion, it would be an affront were a relative of the deceased to put his hands above the shoulders of a visitor; the latter is clasped below the armpits and puts his hands over the shoulders of the former. After each visitor has said a tearful farewell to the corpse the relative who conducts him to his place may raise the hands normally once or twice as a token of gratitude. This is contrary to the custom of the past.

On entering the house the women turn to the left and congregate at (c) near the lower hearth. They do not go to the head of the corpse but drop their tears at its feet.

The elder at (a), leader of his group, after greeting the elder at (d) with his hands down, says a short prayer to Kamui Fuchi as an act of condolence with the family. He is conducted to near the head of the corpse, sits down, bowing low with his hands on the floor, then slides along and weeps over the head, keeping his hands down. He then performs the act of mutual condolence with the six relatives, one after the other, and is conducted to (e), where those who have performed the greeting to the dead sit in line. He is followed by all the men of his group in turn, and if there are many mourners the performance may take several hours. The women also follow one another, doing the act of mutual condolence

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- 764 (Pl. XXV) after weeping at the feet of the corpse. When this
 • [576] ceremony is finished all wash their hands outside and the funeral feast begins.

[534] The important mourners sit in order along the north wall, and this arrangement is called *pone kiri—samta u-eshopki* (beside the body mutually seated). At the head of the hearth are a few elders specially chosen from the village of the deceased, with elders from

[782] other villages opposite. Libations are made to Kamui Fuchi, Nusakoro Kamui and Chisei-koro Kamui, all with libation wand lowered. This is a slight reversal, except for Kamui Fuchi whose wand is usually lowered. The cup is passed from north to south, the reverse

• [782] of the ordinary custom, and the wand on its rim is pointed not towards the receiver but to the one who hands it. All guests before

[262] drinking point the wand down to give a drop or two to the floor, formerly of earth. The viands, consisting of stew, millet cakes, etc.,

[177] and now rice and often cheap Japanese sweetmeats, are set on trays with short feet (*otchike*) near the lower hearth. Nowadays *shochu* is

[178] offered to all the men and a little to the women, with resulting
 [273] intoxication and deterioration of ritual observance. The manner of drinking, however, involves three instances of reversal which should be noted.

764 At the funeral feast for an elderly person an elder may dance a
 264 *taphara*, which is considered pleasing to the *ramat* of the deceased. A joyous atmosphere is quite proper, but if the deceased is young such behaviour would be considered most unseemly. The elder takes care to dance with his back to the corpse.

[782] The feast includes the presentation to the deceased of a tray with bowls of food taken from the hearth and therefore given by Kamui Fuchi. Relatives sitting beside the corpse and the elders near it partake of food which has been offered to the head of the corpse, all eating with their hands. For a man, or an old woman

[276] who likes a whiff of tobacco, a lighted pipe is often placed in contact with the mouth of the corpse.

764 Before the feast begins, Kamui Fuchi's permission is asked to eat it, and when it is finished the elder at (d), who is usually a relative, makes a brief address to Kamui Fuchi. He then proceeds to the head of the corpse, weeps with his hands on the ground and delivers the address to the departed, known as *piyo-itak-kote* (put in last words). This varies with the age, sex and standing of the individual, but it is usual to congratulate the old and commiserate

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wenbe-otta maratto (after-calamity repast). Vessels of water are put ready outside for the mourners to wash their faces and hands. The method of using the ladle for pouring out water is reversed, i.e. it is moved from left to right. On the way back the mourners are purified by brushing, particularly when passing through a narrow valley or ravine where evil spirits might lurk. The mourners are said to be *ikeshui utara* (normally 'indignant' but here 'perturbed'). After washing they go into the house, the near relatives sitting close to where the body had-laid.

Once more the visitors perform in turn the ceremony of mutual condolence with renewed weeping. The ceremonial seating extends along the hearth and on to the sacred window. The elder who made the funeral oration now prays to Kamui Fuchi, but without making the usual offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Starting with 'fun!' and speaking in a loud voice, he thanks her that all has been done safely and asks for further protection. The usual word for thanks is not mentioned; instead a paraphrase is used, *uepoki iko-ongami*, which may be translated 'bowed down in worship'. The meal, which rests on the hearth before being eaten, is of the usual kind.

Former Customs

Twenty years before these descriptions were recorded the following funeral customs were observed. The inner coat was turned inside out. The outer, though not always reversed, was put on over the head to which the armhole of a sleeve was often adjusted. Here this custom is remembered as confined to the relationship of husband and wife. After the funeral the surviving spouse turned the inner garment before entering the house, but left the outer one outside to air and put on a fresh one in the same manner. This was clearly a method of disguise and was called *unaina* (mutual hiding). A widow might retain the reversed inner garment for a couple of years; the outer one while indoors for six months. One or two aged Ainu still reverse the inner garment for a week or ten days. When men and women wore their hair to shoulder length, which men seldom do now, it was customary to cut it horizontally at the level of the eyes and ears. Now a slight clipping is occasionally removed. Widows wore for about six months what was known as a weeping cap (*chish konji*), which was simply a strip of black cloth doubled and sewn on one side.

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lated, and who wanted to marry, to discuss the matter with elders, and the girl would be allowed to change her *kut*. Previously a fine used to be imposed and the parents of the couple would be obliged to placate Kamui Fuchi and beg her permission to alter the *kut*.

A few cases of a man marrying two sisters were recorded in a neighbouring village, and one of a man who divorced his first wife and afterwards married her sister. Misfortune followed, including dumb offspring and children who died young. The people of Nibutani were shocked, and would attribute any misfortune to such behaviour.

Marriage between half-brothers and sisters, the children of different mothers, though not transgressing *kut* exogamy, was looked upon with disgust. Munro was told of one such case, of which the offspring were deaf and dumb with the exception of one child who had a hare-lip. Such a departure from customary behaviour was considered offensive to the ancestors, and their displeasure might affect the whole community, as well as the evil-doers.

In a note published in *Man*, No. 33: 1938, Munro records a poem recited at a wedding and gives some details of the wedding ceremony. Wedding gifts are exchanged but there is no definite payment of bride wealth. The bridegroom usually sends the materials for the sacred beer to be made at the bride's house for the wedding feast. Guests are assembled and Kamui Fuchi is invoked. As a salutation, the bride's father holds a cup of the sacred beer in his left hand and, stroking it gently to and fro, makes a speech in poetic form. He places a libation wand on the cup and in the usual ceremonial manner passes it to the bridegroom who drinks half and hands the remainder to the bride. As she receives it, she raises it to the level of her forehead, swings it gently three times from right to left, and then drinks. As she drinks, she performs the female ritual salutation, drawing the forefinger of the right hand up the left arm from the fingers to her upper lip, and says '*hap*', which indicates thankfulness. Should she refuse to drink there would be no marriage. Though the ceremony is held in the house of the bride's father, the bride goes to live in her husband's house in his father's village, but she may return for the birth of her first child.

With regard to inheritance, all essentially female property (*huchi-korpe*) is inherited by daughters from their mother. Mr Sugiura

APPENDIX II

pliments, assurances and libations. Then skinning and dividing the body proceed according to strict rules of traditional ritual. The Ainu reverently drink the blood of the bear, calling it divine medicine.

Cushioned on the skin, with body removed, the head of the bear is believed still to attract the lingering spirit. Gestures of gratitude are made and praise and libations are offered, while the sacred fire burns at the place of the rendezvous to which it is hoped will come the World Spirit of the Ainu, the 'Holder of Space' and source of all life on earth. Here are placed the cups that had held the blood. During the feast etiquette forbids one who receives the cup just filled to drink it. He makes the gesture of reverence and passes it to the person opposite. An offering is also made to the ancestors. The women, too, make offerings to their matrilineal forebears (see Ch. VIII, Shinurapa).

After this reverent ritual, the people enjoy themselves. Small millet balls are thrown and scrambled for because they bring luck through intimate association with the bear *hamui*. School children play at tug of war. The women dance at the place of the Great Offering. The spirits and gods are present as auspicious guests, and everything must be done to please and entertain them. Ceremonial swords are carried to guard against evil spirits.

The final feast is held in the large house. Near the sacred East window lies the head of the bear with its lingering soul as chief guest of the feast. Food is set in front of it so that virtue may be acquired and passed on to those who eat it.

Then the 'sacred flesh' is distributed. The Wine-Controller, who sits beside the head of the god and opposite the large vessel of liquor, is a responsible official who gets a goodly portion. Ordinary guests receive small pieces of food, reverently taken in both hands. The feast includes millet beer and soon the Elders and guests begin to feel its effect. Then men dance, and after a while the women join in.

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